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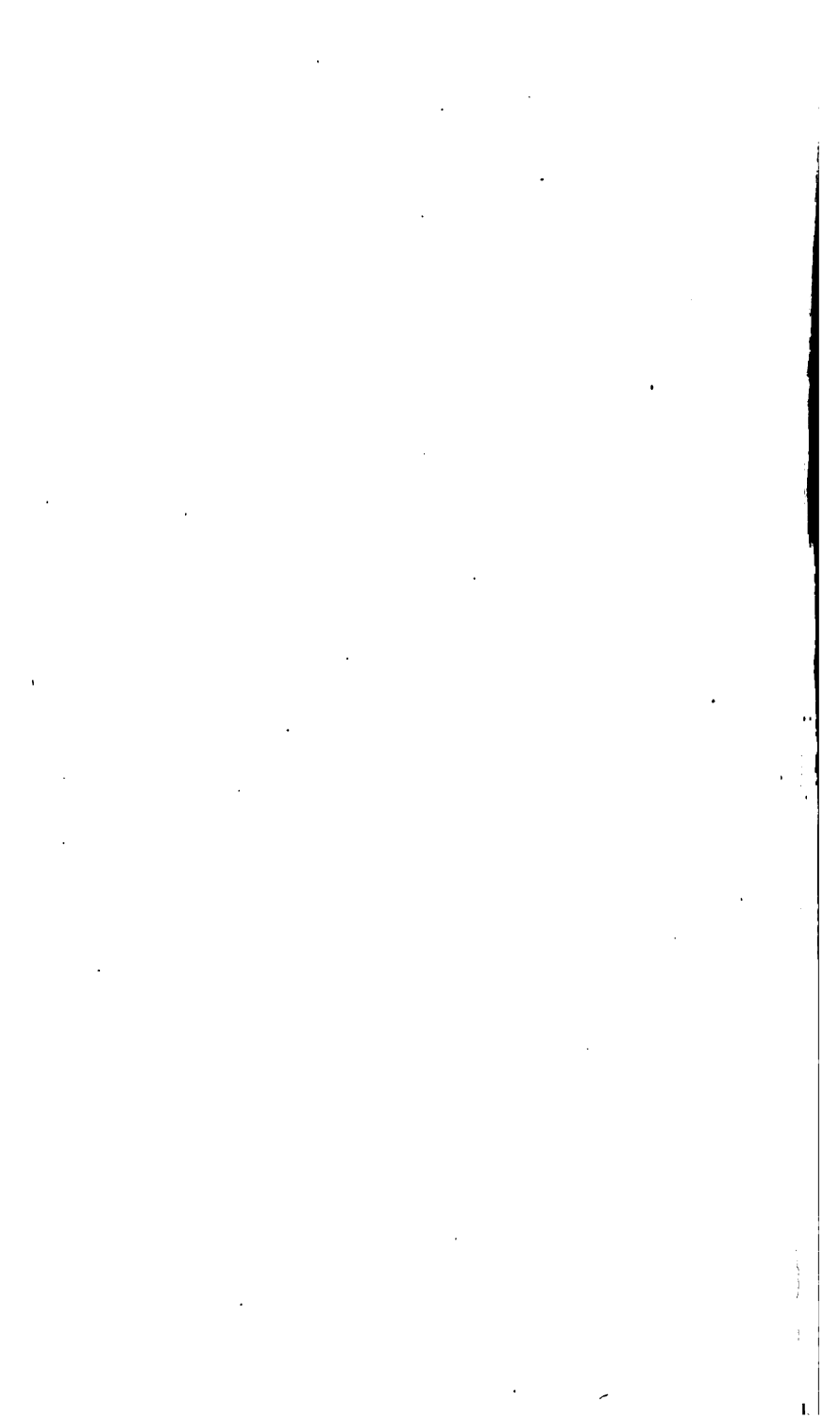




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O F T H E  
Rebellion and Civil-War  
I N  
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B Y  
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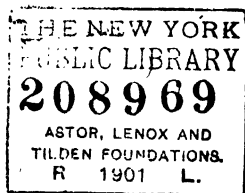
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BOOK V.

**W**HETHER the cessation made with the rebels in Ireland for a year was really necessary for the preservation of his Majesty's Protestant subjects and his interest in that kingdom, or whether it was made with no other view, than to enable the King to bring over that army to subdue the Parliament in England, is a question which agitated as much as it was at that time, the reader, who hath no self interest nor prejudice to corrupt his judgment, will from the preceding account be able to determine very clearly. Without this account, even the great clamour against it by the two opposite factions, who had each their particular interests with which it clashed, shews the measure to have been a right one. The Romish Clergy, the old Irish, and the necessitous English Papists there, who could get nothing but by the confusions of the kingdom,

**CHARLES I.**  
A. 1643.  
CARTE.  
COX.  
BORLASE.  
CLAREND.  
CASTLEMA.  
Inquiry, &c.  
Nuncio's M.

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dom, those on one side were vehement against the cessation; as what broke the union of the confederates, divided them into parties, stopped the career of their successes, and would cool the zeal of foreign powers in supporting what they had believed to be a war of religion. On the other side, those who had entertained views of encreasing, or raising a fortune, upon the ruin of others, and the English Parliament-party, whose interest it was to improve and continue this rebellion, in order to prevent the King's receiving any aid from Ireland, these exclaimed against the cessation, as what would lay a foundation for a peace with the rebels; "with whom it was best to be in perpetual defiance." Now if the consequences thus urged on both sides, or on either of them, were likely to follow from the cessation, I presume to say that it was a step from thence alone very defensible. But necessity is a motive not to be resisted; and the Marquis of ORMONDE had this unanswerable plea.

That the King, who had another motive, which was that he might avail himself of the Irish army, was glad there was such a plea to make, is very probable; because he certainly did intend to make a peace with the Irish rebels, before any such necessity took place; not however out of any favour, or to shew countenance to them—as some of his enemies suggested, and others believed—but to strengthen himself against the Parliament with the Irish army. Neither do I mean that there was no necessity to be pleaded, at the latter end of April, when he sent his first public order for a treaty of cessation. But in CARTER's appendix, there is a private letter from the King, dated on the twelfth of January—before he knew that the armies were formed under O NEIL, and PRESTON, and when very few of the castles and none of the towns were in their hands; except Kilkenny—in which his Majesty gives the Marquis of ORMONDE instructions, to treat of a peace with the Irish rebels. In another letter of the second of February, he "earnestly desires his Lordship to send him word with all speed the particulars of this business, as how, when, and in what measure it will be done; assuring him it should not be hindered by the arrival of a more powerful head:" and in a letter of the eighth of February, he "commands him to slacken nothing in that business, whatsoever the Justices may say; or do;



do; not that he doubts the Marquis's diligence in obey-  
ing his commands, but that he finds, towards the conclu-  
sion of his Lordship's letter, that the Justices intend to  
desire some stop of the execution of that commission, and  
he knows that he need not bid his Lordship hinder, as  
much as he might, the concurrence of his Majesty's Pro-  
testant subjects in that desire." From hence it is plain that  
the King, "though he was not ignorant how tender an  
argument the business of Ireland was, and how prepared  
men were to pervert what he did or said in it," did not—  
as Lord CLARENDON says he did—"proceed with that  
caution, that whatsoever was done in it should be by  
the Council of that State, who were understood to be  
most skilful in those affairs." But this transaction was a  
secret between the King and the Marquis of ORMONDE;  
who appears to have had more regard to his Majesty's  
honour in this whole business of Ireland, than from this  
time the King himself had.

The cessation being concluded, the Marquis's next  
business was to consider of the number of forces that  
were necessary to be kept in Ireland, and the means of  
their subsistence, and then to transport the rest of that  
army into England to assist the King. It was left en-  
tirely to his Lordship, whether to remain in his post  
at Dublin, or to go over as Commander of those forces;  
neither his Majesty, nor his Council, being able  
to determine which of those measures were best: but  
his Lordship waving the choice, it was resolved at last  
that he should remain in Ireland. Several difficulties  
arose in the business of transporting the army, for want  
of vessels to carry the men, and of money to supply  
the Officers that were to command them: the Irish,  
who were to have made the first payment of five thou-  
sand pounds in the middle of October, not having paid  
two thousand in the beginning of November, when some  
ships arrived from Bristol to transport the army. But  
the Marquis employed his credit in procuring some mo-  
ney, that the embarkation might not be hindered. He  
was not only very careful in the choice of the Officers to  
be sent over with this army, that they might be well  
affected to the King, but he framed a protestation to  
be taken by the whole army, before they went out of  
the harbour, of which he himself was an example;  
"that they would defend the religion established in the  
Church of England, the King's person and prerogative  
B 2 against

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**CHARLES I.** against all the forces raised against him, and that they would not communicate any thing that should prejudice his designs in the conduct of his army.

**A. 1643.**

The soldiers were glad to leave a country where they had been in continual danger of starving, and chearfully took the protestation: neither did any of the Officers refuse it, but **CRAWFORD** a Scotchman who pretended conscience, and Colonel **MONCK**; whose reasons so far satisfied the Marquis, that he gave him a pass to go into England, with a restriction of being detained, with all civility, for some time in custody. The first embarkation was not much above two thousand effective men: and it was the middle of November before they sailed from the bay of Dublin. In the beginning of December, the Marquis sent over fifteen hundred more; and at the end of that month, four troops of horse, and nine hundred foot. It is not the business of this history to accompany these forces and recount their actions in England: and therefore I shall only say, that after some successes, which gave them a mean opinion of the enemy, they were attacked in Cheshire by **FAIRFAX**; where above twelve hundred common soldiers, and almost all their principal Officers, were taken prisoners, with the loss of all the baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the army.

The Irish had pretended, in their remonstrance at Trim, that they were ready to send ten thousand men to be employed in defending the rights and prerogative of the King; and several Catholic Noblemen, and Gentlemen of that nation, then in England, undertook to bring over some Irish regiments for his service. But none of these propositions took any effect; not from the King's unwillingness to employ the Irish Papists in his army, but from the unwillingness of the Supreme Council to send over small parties under private persons, which they thought would not be looked upon by the King as an obligation from the body of Catholics; and they were determined to make their own advantages from his distresses. This was the real motive, notwithstanding all their professions of loyalty and allegiance, from whence springs all their double dealings, their tricks, and their obstinacy, till his Majesty's affairs were ruined, and their own party was involved in that destruction. I have said that the King was not unwilling to employ Irish Papists in his army; because several such, as Officers

cers and Volunteers especially, were so employed; and because the Marquis of ORMONDE, after the cessation, solicited the Supreme Council very strongly, by his Majesty's orders, not to protract their assistance. It is said in excuse for this, that the Parliament had a troop of Walloon horse in their service, who had their Romish Priests with them to say mass wherever they marched; and therefore the King might certainly, with as little offence, employ a body of his own Catholic subjects. MR. Secretary NICHOLAS affirms, in a letter to Lord ORMONDE, in August, that this circumstance of the "Walloon troop of Papists is a most certain truth;" which is all the authority that I can find for that improbable fact. It is true, however, that several of the rebel Irish Papists were lifted by the Scots, and sent with their army into England for the service of the Parliament; as we shall presently see.

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Lord INCHQUIN had not so many difficulties to encounter in the province of Munster, as the Marquis of ORMONDE had, in transporting the forces under him into England: an account of the number of sea ports, and trading towns, with which his province abounded, and the sea there being open. The want of provisions however, and money to supply his Officers, was full as great; and though he sent two regiments in the middle of October, it was near Christmas before he could send over the three regiments more, that were to be spared from the Munster army. Very little advantage accrued to the King from any of the forces brought from Ireland: and considering the suspicions which he lay under with most of the people, about favouring the Irish Papists, it is certain that the weakening of the army there, notwithstanding a cessation, which it was thought they would not observe, did him a great disservice.

It is very certain also that the cessation was not observed, on either side, as it ought to have been. The Scots in Ulster, who acknowledged no other authority over their army than their General's, refused to obey it till they knew his pleasure; and would admit it no further than as they thought it beneficial to the views of the English Parliament. On the other hand, the Irish Catholics neglected to make their payments for support of the King's army, according to their agreement; and committed divers acts of hostility, upon the cattle and houses

**CHARLES I.** of some of the Protestants. Great sums of money were also extorted from them, for licence to pass through the Irish quarters; and what was worst of all, they published a prohibition to all their party not to sell provisions to the English for their money. Many of the garrisons were obliged to be abandoned by this contrivance; the county Councils in Conaught having issued out warrants, with intent to seize the goods and estates of such Catholics, as should buy, or sell, or use any traffick with the English. Lord INCHQUIN sent a remonstrance to the Justices, charging the confederates with a breach of the cessation in Munster, in no less than eleven articles: "which had begotten so many complaints from the poor English, and such vexation of spirit, as made them weary of their lives, and him of the sad and perplexed condition to which these affronts and difficulties had reduced him."

**M. S.** The reader hath been informed in the third book, that two commissions under the great seal were issued out by the Justices, to the Dean of Kilmore, and seven other clergymen; one within two months after the breaking out of the rebellion, and the other in the January following: the first of these was to enquire into all the robberies that had been committed, with the particulars of the value, time and place, and of all traiterous and disloyal speeches: the other to enquire what lands had been seized, and what murders committed by the rebels, what numbers of British people had perished in their flight from them, and how many had turned Papists since the twenty-second of October. In the June following, another commission—not mentioned by any historian—passed the great seal, in the same words with the last, and directed to the same persons except one: the reason of which I take to be, that one of the commissioners was then dead, and another named in his room. A copy of this commission is at the head of the manuscript in my possession, already mentioned; a duplicate of which book is among the Harleian manuscripts in the Museum. It hath also been taken notice of, that the examinations, by virtue of these commissions, are in two and thirty large volumes in folio deposited in the College library at Dublin; besides one which contains the examinations that were taken by Archdeacon BYSS for the province of Munster; and which BORLASE—among his other falsehoods—says, was smothered with great artifice. In these books, besides the

the original examinations signed by the Commissioners, there are several copies of others, said to be taken before them, which are therefore of no authority; and there are many taken ten years after, before Justices of peace appointed by the Commissioners of the English Parliament. As a great stress hath been laid upon this collection, in print, and conversation, among the Protestants of that kingdom, and the whole evidence of the massacre turns upon it, I took a great deal of pains, and spent a great deal of time, in examining these books: and I am sorry to say, that they have been made the foundation of much more clamour and resentment, than can be warranted by truth and reason.

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There is one circumstance in these books—not taken notice of as I perceived by any body before me—that though all the examinations signed by the Commissioners are said to be upon oath, yet in infinitely the greatest number of them, the words “BEING DULY SWORN” have the pen drawn through them, with the same ink with which the examinations are written; and in several of those where such words remain, many parts of the examinations are crossed out. This is a circumstance which shews, that the bulk of this immense collection is parole evidence, and upon report of common fame: and what sort of evidence that is, may be easily learnt by those who are conversant with the common people of any country; especially when their imaginations are terrified with cruelties, and their passions heated by sufferings. Of what credit are even depositions worthy—and several such there are—that many of the Protestants that were drowned, were often seen in erect postures in the river, and shrieking out “Revenge,” to the terror of the whole country, even of the murderers themselves? But what will put the matter out of all doubt with impartial people, that no other examinations in these volumes are to be depended on, than what are sworn, is that no other are to be found in the manuscript collection in my possession, and its duplicate in the Museum; signed with the same signatures of the Commissioners, which I saw so often repeated in those two and thirty volumes, and which is therefore as much an original as that collection. The commission was finished in July this year; but there was one examination added in October; and on the eighth of November they attested, “that they have examined and compared the above extracts with the original examinations

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tions with which they find them to agree." Here then it is only that we can expect the most authentic account of the Irish Massacre; and I conceive the reason for making a duplicate of this collection, was to send one copy to the King and Council, and the other to the English Parliament.

Having thus established the authority from which I write of this tragical event, I must now endeavour to ascertain from it, as near as may be, the number of British and Protestants that were destroyed, OUT OF WAR, by the Irish in this rebellion. Though it is impossible, even from this authentic evidence of the murders, to come at any certainty and exactness as to their number, from the uncertainty itself of some of the accounts that are given in, yet it is easy enough from hence to demonstrate, the falshood of the relation of every Protestant historian of this rebellion. Indeed to any one who considers how thinly Ireland was at that time peopled by Protestants, and the province of Ulster particularly, where was the chief scene of the Massacre, those relations, upon the face of them, appear incredible. It is very observable that Lord CLARENDON, when he mentions this Massacre in his history of the rebellion in England, says "that there were forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants murdered, before they suspected themselves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence." But in his vindication of the Marquis of ORMONDE, written at Cologne, if not under the inspection, yet with the help of memoirs given him by the Marquis, he wisely avoids naming any number; and says "that in the space of less than ten days, the Irish murdered an incredible number of Protestants, without distinction of age, or sex; and that many thousands perished by cold, and hunger." Had no writer gone beyond this last account, which may be called the Marquis of ORMONDE's—the best judge in the world of that event—I presume it would never have occasioned any dispute. But when this number hath been extended by some to "above an hundred and fifty thousand," by others to two, and even to "three hundred thousand," at a time when there were not so many more British in the whole kingdom, it made the relation impossible to be credited by men of sense. Lord CASTLEHAVEN hath assured us, that SR. J. TEMPLE mentioned hundreds, as then murdered, that lived many years after;

after; nay, some were even alive when he wrote his memoirs: and his Lordship observes further, that not a tenth part of the British natives reported to have been thus murdered, lived then in that kingdom out of cities and walled towns, in which no such massacre was committed. Father WALSH, who is allowed to have been “honest and loyal,” hath affirmed that after a regular and exact enquiry, he computed the number might be about eight thousand.

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But setting aside all opinions and calculations in this affair—which, besides their uncertainty, are without any precision as to the space of time in which the murders were committed—the evidence from the depositions in the manuscript above-mentioned stands thus. The number of people killed, upon positive evidence collected in two years after the insurrection broke out, adding them all together, amounts only to two thousand one hundred and nine; on the report of other Protestants, one thousand six hundred and nineteen more; and on the report of some of the rebels themselves, a further number of three hundred; the whole making FOUR THOUSAND and TWENTY-EIGHT. Besides these Murders, there is in the same collection, evidence, on the report of others, of EIGHT THOUSAND killed by ill usage: and if we should allow that the cruelties of the Irish, out of war, extended to these numbers—which, considering the nature of several of the depositions, I think in my conscience we cannot—yet to be impartial we must allow, that there is no pretence for laying a greater number to their charge. This account is also corroborated by a letter, which I copied out of the Council books at Dublin, written on the fifth of May sixteen hundred and fifty-two—ten years after the beginning of the rebellion—from the Parliament-commissioners in Ireland, to the English Parliament. After exciting them to further severity against the Irish, as being afraid “their behaviour towards this people may never sufficiently avenge their murders and massacres, and lest the Parliament might shortly be in pursuance of a speedy settlement of this nation, and thereby some tender concessions might be concluded,” the Commissioners tell them that it appears, “besides eight hundred forty-eight families, there were killed, hanged, burned, and drowned, SIX THOUSAND and SIXTY-TWO.

The number given in these accounts—small as it is, compared

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compared with what hath been given, by other Protestant writers—yet is surely great enough to give a horrible idea of the fierce and savage cruelty which was at that time exercised by the Irish. But in a-batement of these examinations it must be observed, besides what I have already hinted appears upon the face of them, that soon after the restoration, when the claims in favour of innocents were canvassed, and the House of Commons desired that none of those whose names could be found in that collection might be heard relating to such claims, the Duke of ORMONDE, then Lord Lieutenant and no friend to the Irish for good reasons, rejected the proposal. His Grace, it is probable, knew too much of those examinations, or the methods used in procuring them, to give them such a stamp of authority; or otherwise, it would have been the clearest and shortest proof of the guilt of such as were named in them. The truth is, the soldiers and common people were very savage on both sides: and one would hope for the sake of humanity, that the enemies of each side have greatly aggravated the others cruelty. I have however been of opinion, since my knowledge of this part of Irish history, that these extravagant reports have been owing also to the friends of each side; who have been bigotted enough to think, that they did GOD service in such barbarities, and have therefore assumed a merit to their party beyond the measures of truth.

Hence it was, no doubt, that the Priests made a report, when Dr. MAXWELL was prisoner amongst them—as he said in his deposition—that the persons slaughtered in the first six months, amounted to one Hundred Fifty four Thousand: and to this wicked zeal, and not to the reality of the fact, I hope, is to be attributed, Dr. BORLASE's account of the services performed by Sir W. COLE's regiment in the first year of the rebellion, and almost all in the province of Ulster. He says that besides two thousand four hundred and seventeen rebels killed in several engagements, there were “starved and famished of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized on by this regiment, SEVEN THOUSAND.” If this is true, the Irish, though the first aggressors, have but too much reason to recriminate: and both sides will do well to guard against or to extinguish those unchristian animosities, which led the way to every species of barbarity, and ended in desolation, pestilence, and famine. Whether the account  
which



which I have given above of this great event in the Irish history, will satisfy the reader of either party, I don't know : but I have taken great care and pains in the enquiry, and I write, not to please, but to inform ; not to irritate parties, but to unite them in the exercise of civil social duties.

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About the time when this collection of the Irish cruelties was attested by the commissioners, the Lords Justices and Council received a reprimand from the English Parliament, for declaring in the preamble of an act of state, " that their present difficulties were occasioned through the failure of the Houses of Parliament in England, who undertook the charge of this war." After threatening the Ministry there for executing the King's orders, the Speakers conclude their letter with telling them, " that they are forbidden to inform them what supplies of money, victuals, ammunition, and other necessities, are in good forwardness to be sent over, and by whose incessant care, lest they should seem to answer that scandal by excuse, which deserves an high resentment." To this letter, the Justices and fourteen Privy-Councillors returned an answer ; in which they recapitulated the several applications made from that board to the English Parliament for relief, and the supplies that had been sent them ; by which the truth of their declaration in the preamble was manifested in so strong a light, that neither of the Houses thought fit to expose themselves by offering at any reply. They knew indeed that it was too true ; and they must also know, that there was a necessity—not a feigned, but eminent, real, and extreme necessity, said Sir P. PERCIVAL—for the cessation ; but yet they thought it for their interest to clamour against it in a declaration, and to protest against all peace with the rebels upon any terms ; a measure which must have entailed perpetual war upon that kingdom till it was in a manner depopulated : for the Protestants then, by PARRY's calculation, were to the Papists as two only to eleven. But it was necessary to impose on the people of England, with a shew of zeal for the Protestant religion ; and they found their account in it very effectually.

It was no less necessary for the King to undeceive the people, by publishing the motives which induced him to agree to this cessation : but Lord CLARENDON hath told us upon this occasion, " that it was one of the instances of the strange and fatal misunderstanding which possessed

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possessed this time, that the calumnies and slanders raised to his Majesty's disservice and dishonour about Ireland, made a more than ordinary impression on the minds of men; and not only of vulgar spirited people, but of those who resisted all other insinuations and infections." The English historians to this day—RAPIN especially—have represented the complaints of the Council and of the officers of the army in Ireland, as a contrivance of the King's, who had a mind to make use of them for a pretence to this cessation. But the falsehood of this assertion must have appeared from what hath been related already, upon the unexceptionable evidence of such of the Council in Ireland, as were ill enough affected to the King. It is very certain that the cessation was a measure to be fully justified; though when his Majesty first sent orders for such a treaty, the necessity for it was not so pressing; and his directing the troops that could be spared in Ireland, to be sent for his assistance against the Parliament, induced those who were ignorant of the state of Ireland, to conclude he had no other motive for ordering this truce. The King thought it necessary at this time to put the Government of Ireland entirely into the hands of the Marquis of ORMONDE, by making him Lord Lieutenant; as the only way to contain the Irish in their obedience, and to keep the cessation from being violated. Nothing more having passed in England relating to this unhappy country before the end of the year, we must now return thither again, and begin the next year with the Marquis of ORMONDE's taking the sword.

A. 1644.

Had the commission, and the powers, which that Lord now received, been sent to him at the execution of the Earl of STRAFFORD, the miseries of his country by this rebellion would have been prevented. But that time was over: the rebellion was now at its height; the Scots were masters of Ulster, and the rebels of the greatest part of the other provinces; the one refusing to obey the orders of the Government, and the other having formed a government of their own in opposition to it. "In such a confluence of difficulties"—as he expressed it—"which must apparently be strived with in that service," a man of less loyalty than the Marquis of ORMONDE would never have undertaken it; a man of less integrity and abilities could not have conducted it. The Earl of LEICESTER having been prevailed with to resign,

on receiving a warrant for all his arrears, the Marquis CHARLES I.  
 was sworn Lord Lieutenant on the twenty first of January. A. 1644  
 There were four things recommended principally to his  
 care by the King and Council in England : the first, was  
 to prevent any hostility during the cessation ; the second,  
 to prevent the Scots from drawing their army out of  
 Ireland, that they might not be in a condition to invade  
 England ; the third, was to persuade the Irish Catholics  
 to send some forces into England, or Scotland, as should  
 be most for the King's service ; and the last, to procure  
 all the arms, and ammunition, that he possibly could  
 from the Irish, out of which he was to furnish his Ma-  
 jesty's forts and garrisons there.

The first of these instructions was certainly very  
 right, for the safety of the Protestants, and to prevent  
 any scandal to the King from this cessation. But the  
 keeping of the Scots in Ireland had not only an appearance  
 of present danger to that kingdom, but seemed not very  
 consistent with the third instruction, of sending some  
 Irish forces into England, or Scotland. But there was  
 a great difficulty in the way of this, and of the last in-  
 struction about arms and ammunition, which was the  
 want of money. Nor was this all. For the Supreme  
 Council seem to have laid it down as a rule, to make  
 advantage of the King's necessities, and to permit no-  
 thing to be done by the Irish for his service, but by the  
 joint act of their whole body, upon the grant of such  
 conditions as they should think fit to insist on. Hence  
 when Prince RUPERT, who commanded the King's  
 forces in Cheshire, desired them at this time to supply  
 him with five thousand arms, three hundred barrels of  
 powder, and a due proportion of match, for which he  
 promised ready payment, they excused themselves from  
 complying with his request, under a pretence that they  
 had not enough to spare, besides what they had en-  
 gaged to the Earl of ANTRIM. The same answer was  
 then also given to Lord ORMONDE ; who offered to ac-  
 cept of arms, and ammunition, in lieu of their value in  
 the money which was to be paid upon the cessation :  
 and to this blind zeal, after so many professions of loyalty,  
 their own subsequent ruin must be attributed. This, in  
 short, was the original fountain, from whence flowed  
 all those waters of bitterness, of which so many thou-  
 sands of unhappy people tasted.

Having

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Having mentioned their engagement to the Earl of ANTRIM, I must now explain to the reader what it meant. It is no wonder that a man so immoderately vain and ambitious, and withal so weak, as the Earl of ANTRIM, should form projects of dignity above his merit, and of power beyond his abilities. He was originally of the clan of MACDONNELL in the highlands of Scotland, that were well affected to the King, and with whom he had always kept a correspondence; and being a very bigotted Papist, he did not doubt but the Irish Catholicks would make him Generalissimo of their army. He had been confined by MONROE eight months; but making his escape, and going away to the King, he proposed taking over three thousand Irish, and with these, and his clan in the highlands, to make a diversion in Scotland, in order to prevent their assisting the Parliament in England. He went further: he proposed, by the influence that he pretended he had over the Irish, to bring ten thousand of them into England, with an intent to assist the King against the Parliament. Weak as this man was, and wild and improbable as were his projects, he made such an impression upon the Queen, who had the talent of making herself believe every thing that she wished, and whose power over the King was absolute, that for these intended services he was made a Marquis; and an order was sent to the Lord Lieutenant, to furnish him with all possible credit, for arms, ammunition, and provision, either by mortgaging the customs, or any other way that the kingdom of Ireland could afford. It was not at all to the King's honour to confer that dignity upon such a bigotted Papist, and to direct such ways of supplying a Popish army under him, that were to invade his subjects in Scotland, as he had never made use of to relieve his Protestant army, when they were ready to perish. But the Queen was now at Court; a woman of a very intriguing temper, zealous for her religion, and whose counsels in favour of it were too much submitted to: and as to the judgment that might be made of such a step by the English Parliament, Lord DIGBY told the Marquis of ORMONDE in one of his letters, they were past those scruples, and must not be diverted by them from what might conduce to his Majesty's service.

With Lord ANTRIM was sent over DAN. O'NEIL, a great friend of Lord DIGBY's, in order to keep Lord ANTRIM, upon whom he had an influence, steady in his resolution,

resolution, and to prevent his falling into those imprudent CHARLES I.  
measures which might be expected from him. For notwithstanding the credit, and power, which the King had A. 1644  
given him, his projects were so ridiculous, and he was so unfit an instrument to be employed in the wisest, that Lord DIGBY told Lord ORMONDE, when he first mentioned the Marquis of ANTRIM's commission, "that he went upon two grounds very contrary to his Majesty's service, which the Lord Lieutenant must either persuade him from, or prevent him in." Could any thing but an infatuation in the councils of the King, permit such a trust to be put into such hands? But what shews the favour that this man was in at Court, is Lord DIGBY's addition to the direction just mentioned, that Lord ORMONDE must manage so, "as to avoid disobliging my Lord of ANTRIM:" and the Queen herself wrote a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, to pray him to favour Lord ANTRIM in every thing that was in his power, being a person she very much esteemed, and as what would extremely oblige her. For amidst his boasts of the great interest he had among the Irish Papists, he owned that he could not answer for the Supreme Council, without the assistance of Lord ORMONDE, but with that he could do every thing.

There is nothing more certain in this history, than that the Queen and her Popish counsellors had too much ascendancy in the Court at Oxford. The Queen, in a drawing-room, was one of the liveliest women of the age; and the vivacity of her imagination, which surprised every body, made a great impression on the King. But though her temper led her to be always meddling in his counsels, yet she had no solid judgment; nor was so secret, as such times, and such affairs required. The Marquis of ORMONDE complained often that his own dispatches thither were known to the Irish, as well as the directions that were sent to him from thence: And though he had expressly desired that no countenance might be given there, to any who might pretend to be powerful with the Irish, and promise to work them to great matters for the King, the consequence of which he plainly shewed, yet the reader hath seen the contrary advice followed with respect to Lord ANTRIM; and Lord DIGBY writes to him in answer to that advice, "that if his reason had been as prevalent with others, as it was peremptory with him

CHARLES I. him in the point, there had no such thing been done at all." Notwithstanding this negotiation in the Court at Oxford, of which the reader hath had but a small part, Mr. HUME hath passed it over entirely, and talks only "of MONTROSS's stipulating with ANTRIM for some supply of men from Ireland."

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As soon as ANTRIM arrived thither he repaired to the Supreme Council at Kilkenny; to whom he made his proposals for sending ten thousand men into England, the arms and ammunition for Prince RUPERT, and three thousand men to be employed in Scotland. The Supreme Council took five day's time to consider of them; and then the first was absolutely rejected; the second was put on such conditions as could not be complied with without starving the King's forces in Ulster; and with respect to the last, they agreed, if Lord ANTRIM would raise the men, to assist him with a certain portion of arms, ammunition, and oatmeal; provided that a safe and convenient port in Ulster, to be commanded by Colonel BAGNAL, was assigned for receiving them. The Lord Lieutenant had a just objection to this restriction; and therefore when it was made known to him, his answer was, that when he had advice that this assistance of men was ready, there should not want a convenient place to receive and secure them to their satisfaction. The Marquis of ANTRIM being resolved to carry his point, so, that he might ingratiate himself with the Irish, he took the oath of association, and was sworn one of their Council: and tho' he had a commission from the King to raise men for the service he had undertaken, yet he took another from the Supreme Council, to be Lieutenant General of all their forces in the kingdom; professing when he received it, that he would never make use of any other commission, nor transport men abroad without their consent. This was the loyal subject whom the King had just made a Marquis, who pretended he could govern the Irish Catholics, and who had really such an influence with the Queen and her Popish council, as was very prejudicial to the King's affairs. But we must leave his Lordship for the present in the execution of his project, and turn to see what was doing in consequence of the cessation.

One of the first things the Marquis of ORMONDE did, after he was made Lord Lieutenant, was to provide  
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for the peace of the kingdom, and to prevent the Irish, as well as he could, from renewing the war. There were some disputes about the extent of the quarters, and some depredations committed on both sides, through the habit of rapine which the English soldiers for want of pay, and the Irish through common practice, had contracted: but these at last were settled by commissioners, and in general all was quiet, except in the county of Roscommon, and some parts of Ulster. Orders had been sent to MONROE to break the cessation; and he publicly declared his resolution of carrying on the war against the Irish. For the English Parliament having taken the Covenant—so well known in all our histories—they dispatched O'CONNOLLY with letters to all the British Colonels in Ulster, desiring them to take the Covenant, and carry on the war; and assuring them of sufficient supplies for their maintenance on those conditions. Letters of the same import were at the same time sent by an agent from the London adventurers; and these were very welcome to the Scotch officers, who had lived much at their ease, being employed about little else than taking preys of cattle, and who did not care to leave the country. But the English regiments in that province were in a very distressful situation: they had received no pay from the beginning of the war, their commanders had exhausted their own fortunes in maintaining their men, and by the cessation they were become less able to support them. Both officers and soldiers were generally well affected to the King; and they had no hopes of supplies, unless they joined the Scots, and obeyed the orders of the English Parliament. The Marquis of ORMOND had sent directions to all the Officers in those parts, under his command, not to take the covenant; shewing the iniquity of the oath, and advising them, if they could not oppose MONROE's power, to follow his example and desire time to receive directions. At the same time an order was sent to MONROE, not to suffer the covenant to be taken by any officers or soldiers under his command: and lest this should not be sufficient, it was followed by a proclamation forbidding all persons to take or tender it, as it was contrary to the municipal laws of the kingdom, destructive of the church established, inconsistent with liberty, and a seditious combination against the King.

But all this reasoning and authority was too weak, to oppose the passion with which the covenant was received,  
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**CHARLES I.** by the new Scotch officers, and inhabitants of the North of Ireland. The Colonels of the regiments, under the command of Lord ORMOND, were all averse to it; but durst not publish the proclamation against it, for fear of irritating MONROE, who had not offered to press it upon them. At a general meeting at Belfast, they agreed to remain in their allegiance to the King, to obey the orders of the Marquis, and not to accept the covenant. But in the beginning of February, orders came from Scotland to recall their army, which was wanted at home to replace or reinforce that which was sent into England. But they were so unwilling to go, and were so long in getting ready, that the Chancellor of Scotland wrote to MONROE to stay the army till further orders; giving him hopes, that the clothes, provision, and money that had been promised, should be with them soon. The General gave directions accordingly to his officers, to settle every thing in its former order: but some of them who were embarked, and were provoked at the delay of their supplies, sailed away. With the first orders some men were sent over, to list all they could, for the reinforcement of their army: upon which, many of the country people, who were Scots by original, and covenanters by principle, many of the English regiments in hopes of better pay and maintenance, and even abundance of the Ulster rebels, who had embued their hands the deepest in the Protestant blood, were taken into their service, and sent into England to fight under the Parliament.

To remove the jealousies and fears of the Protestant country people, who apprehended that as soon as the Scotch army was sent away, they should be left without defence against the Irish, and an oath contrary to the covenant would be imposed, another meeting of the Colonels, and chief officers, of the old Scotch and English regiments, was appointed at Newtown; to which deputies were to be sent out of each parish. At this meeting they were assured, that an application should be made to the English Parliament, and the Adventurers, for continuing the army there; that their men should be disciplined, and furnished with arms and ammunition for their defence; that all the forts in their several quarters should be secured, and new ones raised on the frontiers, if they would furnish men and tools; so that they had no cause to fear that any oath would be pressed upon them against their conscience. With these assurances the minds of the country people were quieted; and the soldiers were prevailed



vailed upon to promise, that they would remain in the service as long as they could be subsisted, tho' it was very forrily. In this situation things continued in Ulster, to the beginning of April; till which time we shall leave it, in order to look into affairs in other parts.

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There were evidently at this time three Parties in Ireland; and the difficulties upon the Lord Lieutenant were much increased. Besides the Papists that were abundantly most numerous, and the Protestants who were for the King, there was now a third Party formed, who took the covenant, and openly sided with the Parliament. The whole strength of the Protestants—strictly united, as they were at first—was not sufficient to resist the Papists; and therefore if the former had been governed by a due sense of religion, or of their own interest, they would not have given such an advantage to the enemy as to divide, and to obstruct the measures of those who were labouring for their defence. The public quiet in and about Dublin being pretty well established by the cessation, the Lord Lieutenant reduced the Leinster army; at that time much distressed through want of pay, and other necessaries, to two thousand foot, and one hundred and fifty horse: and in order to subsist these, he raised the money as before by an excise, by a tax upon the town, and by three pence an acre on the land inhabited within the Pale. Having thus raised a sum weekly for the support of the army, and some other exigencies, they were kept to proper musters and discipline, and all robberies and murders by the soldiers, of such as brought provisions to the markets, strictly prohibited under the severest penalties of martial law. The two Houses of the Irish Parliament met in the beginning of April; but little more was done by them, that I can find; besides issuing out a declaration against the covenant, and directing a joint letter to be sent by the two Speakers to the several officers and commanders of the army, enjoining them to render a due obedience to the proclamation which had been published.

Whilst these things passed in Ireland, a treaty was carrying on in the Court at Oxford, for settling all the differences, and for restoring the peace of that unhappy kingdom. By the articles of the cessation, the Catholics were allowed to send agents to his Majesty to represent their grievances; and the King had directed his Irish Ministers, to provide some able persons, on whose knowledge in their affairs he could depend, to assist in the treat-

**CHARLES I.** ty. BORLASE says, and so does Lord CLARENDON, that several others were authorised by the Irish Parliament, then sitting, to repair to the King with the complaints of his Protestant subjects, and to prevent any thing from being granted in the treaty to their prejudice. The Commons might give them some authority perhaps, though no such thing appears; but they were nominated, long before the Parliament met, in a petition to the King for his leave to send them, signed by the Earl of KIEDARE, the Lords MONTGOMERY, and BLANEY, and many others: and when they understood that a committee of of the Council were to go over, they were entirely satisfied. But some of the republican party in and about Dublin, enemies to any peace, taking advantage of the licence that had been given to send over some Protestant agents, sent two of those that had been named in the petition, and added two others whom they knew to be attached to the English Parliament, **Sr. C. COOTE** and Captain **PARSONS**.

That there was a party in the King's Court, in the interest of the Catholics, though against the interest of his Majesty—and which I call the Queen's party—is evident from many circumstances; but particularly from a passage in a private letter of **Sr. G. RADCLIFFE's** to the Lord Lieutenant, a little before the several agents went from Ireland. The passage is this: "I must tell you the advice of a very good friend, **Mr. Secretary NICHOLAS**, that dares not write so himself. You will have many things recommended from the King, and others: do not just the contrary, but forbear a little till you have returned a civil answer, and then do what you will; but let no letters put you from your own way." The honest Secretary, it is plain, saw that the King was overruled, to direct measures which it would become a Minister of the Marquis of **ORMONDE's** integrity to disobey: and if the Queen and her party could have condescended to use moderation, the King was so much under her influence, and the assistance of the Irish was so necessary to him in his war with the Parliament, that their counsel in all probability, would have been fatal to the Protestants in Ireland. But the Catholics, one would think, were under an insatiation from the beginning to the end of this whole business.

On the twenty-eighth of March, the Irish agents at Oxford presented their propositions; which were so very  
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extravagant, that it was thought scandalous to treat about them, and that the best way would be to break off the treaty at once without entering into particulars. Wherefore, to prevent that consequence, the agents agreed to suppress them, and on the second of April, presented others; which they thought so moderate, "as that they did not know how the nation could subsist in the condition of free subjects, if their desires were not gratified." These very moderate demands, were the freedom of their religion, and the repeal of the penal laws against Papists; the calling a free Parliament, and the suspension of POYNING's act whilst they were sitting; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Irish Parliament, since the beginning of the rebellion; the vacating of all indictments, attainders, outlawries, and grants, in prejudice of the Irish Catholics, and a general act of oblivion extended to all persons and goods; an act of limitation for security of estates; an Inn of Court erected, and the Schools and University to be free; that places of power, trust, and profit, be equally and indifferently conferred on Roman Catholic natives; that no person, not estated, nor resident, be allowed to vote in either House of Parliament; that an act be passed, declaring the independency of the kingdom and Parliament upon those of England: that the jurisdiction of the Council-board be limited to matters of State; that no Governor should continue above three years, and during his government should be disabled from purchasing lands, except from the King: and to manifest their desire that the inhuman cruelties which had been committed might be punished, and the offenders brought to justice, they proposed that all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and barbarities on either side, might be questioned in the next Parliament, and such as should appear to be guilty excepted out of the act of oblivion, and punished according to their deserts.

These with two or three immaterial things, were the propositions of the Irish Catholics to the King; which the reader sees were little short of a total alteration of the government in church and state. These propositions were given by his Majesty to the Committee sent by the disaffected Protestants: who gave in an answer to them severally to the King and Council, as they were required. When this was read, his Majesty asked whether they had answered them, "as they were to be granted by him in law and justice, and fit for the security of the Protestants

CHARLES I. of Ireland, "or prudentially as the times were?" To which the Committee replied, that they looked upon the propositions of the rebels as destructive to his Majesty's laws, government, and Protestant subjects of Ireland. The Earl of BRISTOL, thinking this answer not explicit enough, said, that according to what was due from the rebels by law and justice, the answers which the Committee had given to their propositions were full : but the King expected that they should declare, what was prudentially fit for him to do ; seeing the Protestants were not in a condition to defend themselves, and he would not allow them to join with the new Scots, or any others that had taken the covenant. But they avoided giving any other judgment, than what was to be found in their own propositions, and their answers to those of the rebels.

If the propositions of the Catholics, were like those of men, who thought themselves possessed of the whole strength and power of Ireland, and that the King's condition was so weak as would incline him to buy their assistance at any rate, it must be confessed that the propositions of the Protestant Committee, were like those of men, who, to the smart and anguish of their late sufferings, had added an utter contempt of the power, and an hatred of the persons of the Irish ; and who would be content with nothing less than what those who could contend would never submit to. They required that the penal laws should continue in force, and be put in execution ; that no person should be a Magistrate in a corporation, a Sheriff of a county, a Justice of peace, or a practising Lawyer, who did not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy ; that nothing might be done derogatory in any respect to POYNING's law ; that the present Parliament might be continued, and the assumed government of the Catholics immediately dissolved ; that all those that had been legally indicted might be proceeded against, and if convicted or attainted might be punished accordingly ; that the attainders already incurred by outlawry might be confirmed by act of Parliament ; that such rebels as were not already indicted or attainted, might upon proof of their offences be in like manner convicted and attainted, and their estates forfeited ; that the Protestants should be restored to their estates, and have all the mean profits made good to them ; that the rebels should rebuild all the plantation-houses and castles they had destroyed, and restore all the money, plate, goods, and chattels, or the value thereof,

thereof, which they had taken; that no act of oblivion might be passed, for the release of any actions which the Protestants might have by law, for any wrongs done to them or their families in this rebellion; that all churches, and chapels, and forts destroyed, should be re-edified at the charge of the Catholics, and Protestants put into the possession of them; that all the arms and ammunition of the Confederates, should be immediately delivered into his Majesty's stores, and the arrears of the army paid by them; that Popery, and Popish Recusants, should be suppressed: that all Popish Priests should be banished out of Ireland; that no Popish Recusant should sit or vote in Parliament; and that the King should take all forfeited estates into his hands, and after making satisfaction to such as had any claim by acts of Parliament, dispose of the rest to British and Protestants, in order to be planted, upon reasonable terms. Though some of these propositions were just and necessary, if the Protestants had been in a condition to enforce them, yet others were impracticable and even contradictory to each other. The estates of the rebels were all to be forfeited; and yet they were to re-edify the houses, churches, chapels, forts, and castles, that had been destroyed, and to make good all the arrears of rent to the Protestants, and of pay to the army. In short, these propositions seem calculated entirely to prevent any peace with the Irish: and if they do not expressly mention the extirpation of their nation and religion, they mean but little short of it.

It is no wonder that those who came from the Council-board in Ireland, who perfectly understood the state of affairs in that kingdom, were confounded at the propositions which had been given in, being on each side equally extravagant and unreasonable; and therefore they desired the Protestant agents to withdraw their propositions; or to propose some way how their desires might be effected by force or treaty. But the first they would not, and the last they could not do. Hence it was plain to the King's English Ministers, that these demands were made with no other view, than to throw a scandal upon the King and them, if they made a peace with the Catholics upon conditions very remote from those; which, if any peace at all was made, must certainly be the case. The Marquis of ORMOND was therefore directed to find out,

**CHARLES I.** as well as he could, how far these propositions agreed with the general sense of the Irish Protestants; and as to the propositions of the rebels, the Ministry did not choose to deliver any opinion. They saw that the King's affairs in England, and the preservation of the Protestants in Ireland, equally required a peace: but they likewise saw the scandal and prejudice that would ensue to his Majesty, if he granted the rebels almost any thing more than private promises.

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The difficulty of advising under this dilemma, was added to by the Committee from the Dublin Council, who insisted, as a necessary security of the Protestant Interest and Religion, that the Irish should be disarmed, that all the damages sustained by the war should be paid by them, that the penallaws against recusants, particularly the Clergy, might be put in execution; and that those who had been most guilty of the massacres and barbarities at the beginning of the rebellion might be excepted from pardon. The first of these propositions was not unreasonable to ask, if the King had been in a condition to compel it; but he was in no such condition; and the Catholics, who had been made jealous that their extirpation was designed, would not submit to it. The second was impracticable in its nature, and was never attempted by the English Parliament when they had entirely subdued the Irish. The Papists were not unwilling to admit of some relaxation as to the freedom of their religion; but they would not consent to the execution of the penal laws, which would in the end oblige them to renounce their country, or their religion. To the last they had no objection, provided the Protestants, who had been concerned in the like massacres and cruelties, might undergo the same fate.

It must be owned that the King and his Council were in a very critical situation; neither able to maintain a war in Ireland against the rebels, nor to make a peace which could be justified to the Protestants. It was necessary however to give some answer to the Irish agents; and such as could be given, consistently with the King's honour and justice, was delivered to them: but it came far short of their propositions, and producing no effect need not be related. The most material part was that concerning religion; and the answer on this was, 'that as the penal laws had never been executed with rigour, so if his recusant subjects should, by returning to their duty and loyalty, merit his favour and protection, they should not  
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for the future have cause to complain, that less moderation was used to them than had been in the most favourable times of Queen ELIZABETH, and King JAMES, provided they lived quietly and peaceably according to their allegiance; and such of them as manifested their duty and affection to his Majesty, should receive such marks of his favour, in offices, and places of trust, as should plainly shew his good acceptance and regard of them."

When the King delivered his answer, he admonished them to consider his circumstances, and their own; "and if upon those conditions which he might grant, without prejudice to himself, and which were very sufficient for the security of their religion, lives, and fortunes, they made haste to assist him, whereby he might be enabled to suppress the rebellion of his Parliament, he would never forget the merit of such a service; and it would then be absolutely in his power to vouchsafe graces to them to complete their happiness, and which—he gave them his royal word—he would then dispense in such manner, as should not leave them disappointed of any of their just and full expectations. But if, by insisting on such particulars as he could not in conscience consent to, and which would do him more disservice than all their assistance would countervail, they should delay their joining with him till his party was suppressed, it would then be too late to give him help; and they would find their strength in Ireland, but an imaginary support for his or their own interest, and that those who had with difficulty destroyed him, would without any considerable opposition ruin them, and root out their nation and religion." This was certainly true, and very prophetically spoken, as they afterwards found by sad experience; and the agents confessed, that the demands which they were ordered to insist on, were such as his Majesty could not consent to, in the then condition of his affairs: they promised therefore to use their endeavours at their return, with an intention to procure the full submission and obedience of the confederate Catholics, upon such conditions as his goodness would consent to for their security.

If Lord CLARENDON had not given us this admonition from the King, it might have been suspected; because it is certainly not to his honour. If he was sincere in intending to vouchsafe the Catholics such graces as should complete

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complete their happiness, and not leave them disappointed of any of their full expectations—which were the free exercise, and splendour of their religion—he then broke his word which he had given the Parliament, “that he would never consent, upon any pretence, to a toleration of the Popish profession in Ireland, or the abolition of the laws now in force against popish recusants in that kingdom :” And if this promise to the Catholics had no other meaning, than thereby to procure their assistance to subdue the Parliament, then it is a proof of that dissimulation which was so often charged upon him. The agents however were dismissed with this admonition ; and the King sent orders to the Marquis of ORMONDE, to renew the cessation with the rebels for another year ; and a commission under the great seal of England, “to make such a full peace and union with them, upon conditions which he found agreeable to the public welfare, as would enable that kingdom to assist him in suppressing the English and Scotch rebels.” This was so much at his Majesty’s heart, that all the Letters from his Secretaries of State to Lord ORMONDE, about that time, relate to little else, than to sending over arms, ammunition, and men from Ireland.

The truth is, “that things were so unfixed in the Court of Oxford, and the King was so obnoxious to be shaken and removed by variety of Counsels,” that the Ministers were glad to shift off the burden and odium of giving any advice in the business of Ireland upon the Lord Lieutenant. The necessity of the supplies from Ireland to the King, seemed to require peace ; but if they advised one favourable to the Irish, they dreaded the resentment of the Parliament, and the people : if they spoke against shewing them any favour, or for insisting on such terms as the Irish would not comply with, the Ministry were afraid of disobliging the King and Queen : and every body—to use an expression of Lord DIGBY’s to the Lord Lieutenant on this subject—was seeking, as the ape did to pull the chesnut out of the fire with the puppy’s foot, to cast off the counsel to his neighbour of granting any thing to the Irish. But the Lord Lieutenant was already involved in difficulties, great and numerous enough to confound the best capacity, and had too much reason to complain of this additional hardship. He found himself almost ready to be devoured by want at Dublin, without much hope of relief ; blocked up at sea by the ships of  
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the English Parliament; encompassed with powerful armies of Scots, and Irish, and having no strength to oppose them but a small indigent unsatisfied army;—some of which had already joined the Scots in breaking the cessation—towns unfortified; the inhabitants for the most part unfaithful; and the magazines and stores in a manner empty. Under all these disadvantages, he was continually solicited by the English Ministers, to send them over arms, and ammunition, and levies of men; though he had no money to purchase the former, nor provisions, nor shipping by which to send the latter. But setting all these things aside, if the King, assisted with his English Council and some from the State of Ireland, found it too difficult a matter to settle a peace with the Irish, how could the Marquis undertake it with any hopes of succeeding, whose conduct, on account of his numerous relations and friends among the Irish, and his estate lying there, would be more liable to misconstruction than that of any other person? On the other hand the Irish, probably for these reasons, would expect greater favours from him than from a stranger, and would be more apt to resent a refusal. Besides, he knew their temper, maxims, and situation, too well to believe it would be an easy work; and it was not without foreseeing the danger, if not the ruin, it would bring on himself and his family, that he engaged in this arduous task. But before we enter upon this treaty, it will be proper to see what was done by Lord ANTRIM, and how the cessation was preserved or broken in Ireland; for the English Parliament were too full of their own business then to think of any thing else.

Before the end of April, Lord ANTRIM had raised with a good deal of expedition two thousand men, among his own tenants and neighbours who had been in the Irish army, and who were commanded by Officers that had been disbanded at the cessation. But there was still a want of the arms, ammunition, and provision, promised by the Supreme Council; and for which the Lord Lieutenant was ready to give them acquittances for the value of them, out of the money due by the cessation. He pressed them in the most earnest manner, by all the arguments which he thought likely to move them; but they still proceeded in it so slowly, that Lord ANTRIM grew disgusted at the charge of maintaining the men, and declared he would lay aside the expedition. The Marquis of ORMOND had done every thing on his part to

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CHARLES I. to set it forward. He had provided ships for the transportation, by giving his own security for the payment; but before the arms, and ammunition, and provision were ready, some of the Parliament ships arrived, and blocked up the harbour. No importunities from the State in their distress, before the cessation, could prevail for these ships to guard the coasts; but now they committed ravages upon all the trading vessels about Dublin, and the parts that were for the King, whilst they left those that were in the hands of the rebels unmolested. What by this obstruction, and the delays of the Supreme Council, it was the end of June before the men sailed for Scotland. The reader will not expect to accompany them in their expedition; and therefore I shall only say, that they enabled the Marquis of MONTROSSE to prevent the Scots from sending any further supplies of men into Ireland; and obliged them to recal some of their forces out of England, to defend themselves in their own country.

It had been recommended to the Lord Lieutenant, as we may remember, to prevent as much as possible the renewing any hostilities: and to this end he desired a power, to receive to pardon for life and lands, such of the rebels as should return to the King's service and their duty. This advice was complied with; but like the other secrets of the King, was divulged to those who ought to know the least of it. The Irish agents at Oxford wrote word of this to the Supreme Council, as a dangerous way to break their association; and they were in the right of it. It was the very way, by which that great statesman, HENRY the Fourth of France, broke the "Holy League;" and by which the Marquis no doubt intended to break the confederacy of the Catholic Irish: And though the Supreme Council were thus forewarned, and his measures were always known, yet he found means very ably to divide them, and to break the force of that power, which, united, was sufficient in a few weeks to have crushed the Protestants, and to have driven all the friends of his Majesty out of the kingdom.

The matter of religion was the grievance which swayed most with the common people; but the Marquis had perceived, that what principally induced the Irish Nobility and chief Gentry among the Catholics to take up arms, was their exclusion from all places of trust and honour; and unless this was removed it would be the point on which

which they would break in a treaty of peace, notwithstanding religion would be the pretence. But though nothing therefore was more proper, than to give, as he had desired, the principal leaders of the Irish some hopes in this respect, and there were many considerable posts at this time either vacant, or likely soon to be so, yet these were already devoured by the locusts which swarm in every Court. The disposal of Irish places and posts to strangers in their country, who had no affection to it, nor any concern about its welfare, gave fresh occasion to that complaint of excluding the natives from their own emoluments; and which will ever be made, it is to be feared, and with too much reason by that unhappy people. The filling all places there with Irish Protestants, was the likeliest method of giving content to both sides; or at least it was such a measure as could not be justly excepted against by either. Had this advice been followed, the Marquis of ORMONDE would have been enabled to serve the King with more effect than he did, as well as more agreeably to his own disposition. Under all the disadvantages however under which he laboured, he preserved the peace of the kingdom, and prevented the Irish from renewing the war, much better than could be expected.

Had the Scots in Ulster been as much under the command of the Lord Lieutenant as they ought to have been, he would probably have kept all Ireland quiet; but they disowned his authority, and by taking the covenant revolted against the King. In the beginning of April, they received a supply of clothes, provision, and money from Scotland, together with four Kirk Ministers to press and tender the covenant: and two ships loading of provisions, which were the charitable contributions of some people in Holland, for the relief of the Protestants in Ireland, were seized by MONROE for his soldiers, and those who opposed the cessation; alledging that they were the most distressed. The four itinerant preachers of the covenant, divided themselves about the country, and met with astonishing success; the common people, as well as the soldiers, taking it with as much zeal, as if it were the only means of preserving both their souls and bodies. Even the Officers of the old Scotch regiments took it privately, without the knowledge of their Colonels, who had declared against it. When these proceedings were notified

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to the State at Dublin, they thought that the readiness which had been shown in taking the covenant, was in a great measure owing to the delay of publishing the proclamation against it, already mentioned. Wherefore an order was sent by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to all the Colonels in Ulster, and the Mayors of Derry, and Carrickfergus, to publish the proclamation against the covenant, at the head of their regiments, and in the most public places of the towns and garrisons, without any more delay. The Colonels, who had acted according to the best of their judgments in that delay, and who found that almost all their Officers had taken the covenant, were in no small perplexity at this order. Several of them however obeyed it, at the hazard of their lives. Their case indeed was very hard; and had MONROE acted in this affair with the same violence as the kirkmen, who made it as necessary to salvation as the sacrament, the Colonels must have been ruined; for all their provisions came through the hands of the Scots. Colonel AUDLEY MERVIN, who for his zeal against the covenant and the English Parliament, had been made Governor of Derry by the Lord Lieutenant, soon after took it himself; because, as he wrote to his Lordship, he was convinced that those who took it had really good intentions to the honour and happiness of the King, as well as the peace and safety of the three kingdoms, and that it was conceived in very innocent terms." When we see how ingenious people are at deluding themselves, in cases where their interests or their passions are concerned, we cannot withhold the conviction, that men do not act in general upon principle, except in cases, which are but few and unimportant, where neither interest nor passion have any share.

It was the way of the world, at that time, among Protestants and Papists, to be full of professions of loyalty and duty to the King, when they entered into associations and appeared in arms against him. The Scotch General MONROE, tho' he had taken the covenant, which his Majesty had declared in a proclamation to be a traitorous and seditious combination against him, was yet very loud in his pretences of a desire to serve him. It must be owned that he had not offered to use any force against the English who refused the covenant; but receiving a commission, at the end of April, from the Parliament

liament in England under their new great seal, to com- CHARLES.  
mand all the forces in Ulster, his moderation against the A. 1644.  
interest of the King was at an end. The Colonels of the  
old Scotch and English regiments in that country, having  
received intelligence of this commission, appointed a  
meeting at Belfast, in the middle of May, to consider of  
an unanimous answer to be returned to him, when he  
should require them to submit to his command. Nine of  
them met accordingly: and after they had retired to their  
lodgings in orders to go to bed, a soldier brought advice,  
that MONROE had given orders for the garrison of Car-  
rickfergus, and the Scotch regiments, to be ready to  
march at two o'clock the next morning to Belfast. The  
guards of the place, upon this intelligence, were strength-  
ened, and every Officer ordered upon duty. Some horse  
were also sent abroad, as scouts, to make discoveries; and  
meeting with MONROE, who ordered them to report  
that no forces were to be seen, they returned about six in  
the morning with that false information; which occa-  
sioned the guards, except the ordinary watch, to be  
discharged, and the officers to leave their posts. In  
about an hour after, the Scots were discovered with-  
in half a mile of the town, advancing with great  
speed to one of the gates, which, before the garrison  
could be alarmed, was opened to them by the guard;  
and marching orderly thro' the place till they came to the  
opposite gate, MONROE ordered them to possess the  
bulwarks, cannon, and guard house. Colonel CHICHESTER,  
the Governor, went with the other Colonels to  
demand of him what he meant by surprising the town.  
He said that as Colonel CHICHESTER had published a  
proclamation against the covenant, by which such as had  
taken it conceived themselves to be declared traitors, had  
also discountenanced those who had offered to take it,  
and had formerly refused to suffer the Scots to garrison  
there, he did not think himself safe without a garrison of  
his own in the place.

As soon as Belfast was thus treacherously occupied,  
MONROE marched with four regiments to Lisburn, in  
order to possess himself of that town. But Colonel Jones  
repairing thither to his command, upon the first news at  
Belfast of the march of the Scots, the garrison were all  
under arms ready to receive them: and MONROE finding  
in a conference with JONES that he could not be admitted  
without

**CHARLES I.** without force, drew off his men, and returned again to Belfast. Colonel **CHICHESTER**'s regiment being ordered to quit the place, he himself went to England to complain of this treachery; and his Lieutenant Colonel, and Major, under colour of leading the men to the quarters assigned them by **MONROE**, marched with a party to Newry, with intent to strengthen the garrison there against any such attempts. This insidious conduct of the Scotch General was the more inexcusable, because the officers of the English regiments, not knowing how to subsist without the help of his provisions, had assured him, that whenever he marched against the Irish they would be ready to join him. But the surprise of Belfast had destroyed all confidence in the Scots among the English forces. **MONROE** had sense enough to discern the evil consequence of this disunion: and finding that the Marquis of **ORMONDE**, had through his own private credit supplied the garrisons in those parts, with provisions, and money, he signed a formal stipulation with the officers of three English regiments; in which the latter engaged, if they were not forced to take any oath contrary to the laws of Ireland, and were furnished with provisions, quarters, and other accommodations, as the Scotch forces were, that then they would join with them in the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Irish, unless prohibited by the King's command. In order to content the State of Scotland, which expected something should be done in return for the supplies they had sent him, and to make an experiment whether the English would effectually join him, **MONROE** not long after drew out his army, and appointed a general rendezvous at Ardmagh.

The Irish, whose forces were all dispersed in country villages, at a distance from their commanders, as well as from one another, were in no condition to oppose them. They determined however to set out six thousand foot, and six hundred horse, under Lord **CASTLEHAVEN**; to which **O NEIL** promised to add four thousand foot, and as many hundred horse, in Ulster. They did not expect that the old Scots, and the English, subject to the orders of the Marquis of **ORMONDE**, would march against them in breach of the cessation, which **O NEIL** had punctually observed. But tho' this great army advanced into the county of Cavan, from whence some parties were sent into Longford, and Westmeath, which burnt the  
country

country and put the poor people to the sword, yet being a great way from home, and their provisions falling off, nothing more than some little skirmishes passed between the two armies. The Scotch General, passing by Dundalk in his way home, desired leave to pass through it with his forces, but was refused. The next day he marched to Newry; and drawing them up within musket shot of the town, he went to it with Lord MONTGOMERY, and some of the other officers, not doubting but he should be admitted. Lieutenant Colonel MATHEWS, who commanded in the place, seeing him come in that manner, ordered the gate to be opened to him and his company. MONROE found him on the parade at the head of the garrison under arms; and demanding a passage with his army through the town, was told there was a high road full as convenient by the side of it.

The General being irritated with this answer, asked him how he durst deny him a passage through his own garrison, as lying in the province of Ulster? and putting his hand upon his pistol, rode up to the Musketeers and ordered them off their duty. MATHEWS, without the least hesitation, commanded them to cock their matches and present; and the Captain at the head of the line drew his sword and gave orders to fire. MONROE cooled in a moment; and very calmly desired leave to draw his artillery through the place, on account of the waters which were so high that they could not pass. The Colonel, ordering his men to return their matches, told him the fate of Belfast had given him sufficient warning, and he would neither suffer the artillery, nor any thing else to enter: but notwithstanding the affront which MONROE had so indiscreetly offered him in his command, he would not be so rash as to imitate him, and would give him liberty to go out as freely as he had admitted him into the town. Upon this the General withdrew to his army, and in an hour after sent a drum to MATHEWS to bid him consult with his officers; and if they did not allow him a passage the next morning, he would force his way. The Colonel, and his officers, being unanimous in defence of the place, they sent him a flat denial; and put up their colours by way of defiance. Lord BLANEY, and some other English officers, were sent in to persuade MATHEWS, but in vain: he told them that the garrison were all of them, to a man, determined to lose their lives,

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rather than hazard such an affront as had been given at Belfast: and MONROE, finding nothing was to be done, decamped the next morning very peaceably, but not without threatening to return in a fortnight, and to fetch down their colours.

If the forces against the rebels were thus disunited, the affairs of the Irish themselves were in no small distraction. A great competition had arisen, between the Lords ANTRIM and CASTLEHAVEN, about the supreme command of their army; the first having a commission to that effect, which he desired to execute and was refused, and the other having one controllable only by the Supreme Council, of which he was in possession, as we have seen above. Three troops of O NEIL's horse, posted at a pass on the Blackwater, had been attacked and beaten in the sight of Colonel FENNEL, who with a strong Squadron of the rebel Leinster horse flatly refused to assist them; which greatly offended O NEIL who was then sick and seems to have paved the way for that jealousy, between the Ulster Irish and those of the other provinces, which proved afterwards so detrimental to the rebels. O NEIL was also disgusted that the Assembly chose Lord CASTLEHAVEN to command the army against the Scots: and for that reason did not afford the assistance which had been promised. The competition for generalship however would have been at an end, if the Marquis of ORMONDE could have been prevailed with to take the command of all the Irish forces. There were some specious reasons to be given for his accepting it; and which imposed upon half fought people so far as to recommend the acceptance of it to him. But the Marquis had too good an understanding not to perceive, that amidst the advantages that might attend it there, the King's honour must suffer every where, by his Lordship's mixing his legal power and forces with the treasonable authority and arms of the rebels, and that it would be a step which must give offence to all his Protestant subjects.

The same motives which withheld Lord ORMONDE from accepting this command, in some measure influenced him to decline proclaiming the Scots to be rebels, and declaring war against them, as the Irish had desired. But yet so great was the distress of the army, and the Protestants, in and about Dublin, by the failure of the excise, by the Parliament-ships blocking up the harbour, and by the utter exhausting of all credit, that he



he did not think it prudent, as the Catholicks were preparing to supply him with corn, and cattle, and could starve him by stopping the market, to provoke them by a flat denial. In this situation, he chose to amuse them with a treaty that might answer the end which they intended, till he could receive the King's directions. He proposed to them therefore as a preliminary, that they should supply the armies under his command, to the number of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse; and the times, and manner of payment being settled, he would undertake to keep the Scots, and all the garrisons, from annoying the provinces, and breaking the cessation. This proposal Lord ORMONDE made the ground of a treaty: but the more the Council at Kilkenny avoided entering upon it, and persisted in a declaration against the Scots, the more resolved his Lordship grew, in refusing what he saw would be ruinous to the King's affairs, by making all the Protestants desert him. In this uneasy situation we must leave the Lord Lieutenant, in order to look a little into the other provinces, where the difficulties of the King's affairs were not much lighter.

It hath already been related, that upon the death of Sir W. St. Leger President of Munster, the command of all the forces, and the civil government in that province, had devolved on Lord INCHEQUIN the Vice-president. As a native of Ireland of the ancient stock, and descended from the race of the great BRIAN BOROMY, the reader, who is acquainted with my former History of this country, will not be surpris'd to find Lord INCHIQUIN, well affected to the King, zealous for the rights of Monarchy, of a vast ambition, and of a prodigious high spirit which disposed him to high resentments. He had been engaged in the whole war, and done many eminent services against the rebels: at the cessation he had sent over a considerable body of forces to his Majesty's assistance against the Parliament, to whose measures no man living was more averse; and in the beginning of this year, he had waited on the King at Oxford, not doubting but his own merit, and the Marquis of ORMONDE's recommendation, would gain him the pre-  
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having

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having it, yet it was soon found that Lord PORTLAND had some years before obtained a promise of it from the King, who had passed a fiat under the privy seal for a patent of the Presidency of Munster; and to him, and not to Lord MUSKERY an Irish rebel, as LUDLOW says, it was now given; and instead of using any means to content the Earl with something else, who had no connexions in Ireland, which no doubt might have been easy enough, Lord INCHQUIN was absolutely refused it; and even the survivance of it on the demise, or cession of the Earl of PORTLAND, was not granted him. Having met with this disappointment, his stay at Court was very short; and he returned into Ireland very justly fowered and piqued against it. As Friendship is a quality rarely known in Courts, there were more people ready to do him ill offices, in representing him as inclined to espouse the side of the Parliament, from the character of the persons to whom he had left the command of the army and the forts in Munster, than to explain those appearances against him by a true state of the case, which would have cleared him.

How easy soever it was for the King to make the Earl of PORTLAND President of Munster, and to send him over to take the command annexed to his post, yet his Majesty should have considered, that it was not an easy thing to take the charge from Lord INCHQUIN whom he had now offended, who had the power of the province in his hands, who would probably not serve under a rival, and, after so many proofs that he had given of merit and ability, be contented with the condition of a private officer. The Lord Lieutenant saw perfectly his Majesty's error, and the evil consequences of it; and endeavoured, but in vain, to allay the resentment of Lord INCHQUIN. The King himself had reason enough too, in a little time to see and to repent it; and yet this did not deter him from engaging himself to other people for places and posts in Ireland, contrary to his interest, and even contrary to his promise to the Lord Lieutenant, that he would dispose of nothing there without him. But it appears as though the King had for some time made every thing in Ireland subservient to the Queen's humour, or to his views of gaining a victory over the English Parliament.

Towards

Towards the end of July, Lord INCHQUIN made an open declaration of his intentions, by signing an address to his Majesty, in concert with his officers, to desire him to make a peace with the Parliament, and by applying to them for supplies to carry on the war against the Irish. The Parliament were too sensible of his Lordship's power, not to receive his application very joyfully, and to promise all he asked; especially as it came attended with an engagement, that his brother Colonel O'BRIAN, then in England should deliver Wareham into their hands, and bring his whole regiment back to Ireland. The same spirit and disposition which make a man a warm and zealous friend, will prompt him, upon ungrateful usage, to be as warm an enemy. The King's ingratitude had touched Lord INCHQUIN in a very tender point; and it required more loyalty than was fashionable at that time not to shew his resentment. His Lordship therefore not only performed what he had offered the Parliament, but he used all his endeavours to bring back the officers and soldiers whom he had sent to serve the King: and pretending that the Irish intended to surprise all his garrisons, he drove the Magistrates, and the Catholic inhabitants out of Youghall, Kinsale, and Cork, allowing them only to take their clothes, and seizing all the provisions and effects in their houses.

At the same time that Lord INCHQUIN thus violated a treaty which he had himself pressed exceedingly, with the same inconsistency he blamed his officers for taking the Covenant till the cessation was expired: and to be more inconsistent still, if it were possible, he caused an oath to be administered to all his army, that they would endeavour to extirpate Popery, to carry on the war against the Irish, notwithstanding any command, proclamation, or agreement to the contrary, and to submit to no peace nor conditions with them, without the consent and approbation of the King, and Parliament of England. The form of this oath he sent to Lord ESMOND, Governour of the important fort of Duncannon, pressing him to get it taken by his garrison, and to engage himself by it; and offering to send a Parliament ship to his assistance. The King, and Lord ORMOND, had sent frequent supplies to this fort; and Lord ESMOND had made the strongest professions of duty and attachment to the King, and of obedience to the orders of the Lord Lieutenant. Wherefore he gave an answer to Lord INCH-

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QUIN's messenger, in the presence of his Major who was next in command in the fort, and of whose loyalty he was well assured, that he would not enter into any measures, nor obey any orders against the State; but he gave a private intimation to Lord INCHQUIN of the contrary, and desired some shipping to enable him to declare himself. A Parliament frigate was accordingly sent into the harbour, on board of which all his subalterns and soldiers immediately went, and took the covenant, though, as he pretended against his will. On a complaint to Lord ORMOND of this unruliness and disaffection of his garrison, and of a want of more power, and provisions, his Lordship sent him a commission to raise and command a troop of horse, which he had long solicited, and a ship with provisions, and two companies of soldiers whom he could depend on.

But Lord ESMOND having now gotten all he could expect from the King, and supposing he should be better paid by the Parliament, pretended that he could not command his men, and had not power to receive the two companies; though he soon after declared himself openly against his Majesty. The Parliament having failed in the great supplies which they had promised to Lord INCHQUIN, he applied to the State of Scotland, and the Scotch forces in Ulster; assuring them of his resolution to concur with them in carrying on the war against the Irish. The march of Lord CASTLEHAVEN into Ulster against the Scots, and some little skirmishes that passed between them, have been already mentioned. Except these bickerings, the two armies lay within three miles of each other for six weeks together without any action, neither of them being able to engage the other. At last Lord CASTLEHAVEN, being distressed for want of provisions, retired with his army to the county of Cavan, whither MONROE followed him; but not being able to draw him to an engagement, in the beginning of October, returned to his garrisons, and dispersed his army. This was the only attempt that the Scots made, towards doing any important service against the Irish, either in this, or the following year: and they complained heavily of not being supplied with necessaries by the English Parliament. Soon after his declaration against any peace with the rebels, Lord INCHQUIN had occasion for the same complaint; and finding no assistance was to be had from the Scots, was obliged, in order to preserve his forces,

ces, and the Protestants in Munster to make a cessation CHARLES I.  
with the Irish till the beginning of April.

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Whilst these things passed in the field, the treaty of peace, for which Lord ORMONDE had received a commission, was carrying on at Dublin. He had talked with several of those who had signed the instructions for the Protestant agents that went to Oxford; he had consulted the Council together, and apart; he had taken the judgment of every man of rank and ability that he met with; and he found all of them agreed in opinion, that the Protestants would not choose to continue the war, if all the propositions given in by those agents should not be assented to. At the end of July, he notified the commission to Lord MUSKERY; and the General Assembly being then sitting at Kilkenny, they appointed twelve commissioners to treat with the Lord Lieutenant, on a continuance of the cessation, and on a peace, for whom they desired a safe conduct. But the titular Archbishop of DUBLIN being one of the number, and Lord ORMONDE being determined to admit none of the Clergy to treat, he desired the Assembly to name another. There being no restriction of that sort in the commission, they justified their choice; but to remove the difficulty, they were content that the prelate should stay at home, with three others whom they had named, and asked only for a safe conduct for Lord MUSKERY, and the other seven; who, except one, were the same men that had been sent to the King at Oxford.

On their arrival at Dublin, which the Marquis had appointed for the place of the treaty, on account of his own convenience, and the King's honour, the cessation was readily renewed to December, and afterwards to a longer time; but the business of the peace was a work of great difficulty. The Lord Lieutenant, who was determined to do nothing without the Council, had taken the Chancellor, and Sir M. EUSTACE, with some others to his assistance: and though the agents had promised the King, when they left Oxford, that they would endeavour to incline their assembly to return to their full submission, upon such conditions as his Majesty would consent to, and did indeed perform that promise, yet they found now to their sorrow, that it was a more easy matter to prevent, and mislead popular assemblies, than to reduce them; and that they could no more allay the spirits they had conjured up, than they could command the wind. The

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Nobility, and men of fortune, had lost their power; and the most factious, violent, and ignorant part of the Clergy, had so much influence over all the other people, that their dictates only were obeyed. In short, the same propositions which had been given in to the King were now offered again, and the same answers were returned. After a whole month had been spent in daily debates upon them, the commissioners not being able to settle the points relating to religion, and the act of oblivion, the treaty was adjourned to the tenth of January; till the Marquis could send three of the Council to the King, and receive his Majesty's answer on the articles which remained in dispute.

The Lord Lieutenant found in his treaty, what he had all along imagined, that the Irish would expect greater favours from him on account of his many relations, and the interest he had in a peace, than they could hope for from a stranger; and being disappointed of their wishes, for which he should be blamed, they would be less inclined to hearken to any motives and advices which he should offer, in order to engage them to lower their demands, and submit to the King's pleasure. For this reason, and from a foresight of the want of bread, or of becoming subject to the insolence either of the Catholicks or the Puritans, he sent to desire the King would speedily appoint a fitter person for the government of that kingdom. The King, and every Minister he had, were but too well convinced of the impossibility of supporting his affairs in Ireland, by the credit or management of any other man in the world than the Marquis of ORMONDE: and though his Majesty would not therefore consent that he should quit that government, yet he sent him a licence to repair into England as often as he should think fit, leaving proper deputies in his absence. Moreover, considering the vast expence which he had been involved in to the great prejudice of his fortune, the King ordered a commission for the stating his accounts, and effectual grants to be made to him out of the Crown lands for what should appear to be due to him. As a further encouragement for the continuance in his post, and to make it less disagreeable and difficult to him, his Majesty sent orders, that no wardship should be granted by the court of wards, but to such persons, and on such conditions, as the Lord Lieutenant should approve of; that he should proceed with the advice of the Judges against all absentees,  
according

according to the laws then in force, by seizing their estates CHARLES I.  
for the public service; that he should determine the custo-  
diums formerly granted, and apply the profits of them to A. 1644.  
the support of the army; that he should sequester all  
disaffected persons from the Council-board, and remove  
and change the governors of counties, cities, forts, and  
castles, at his pleasure: and in order that no inconveni-  
ence should arise, to any of the King's officers, or servants,  
for an obedience to his Majesty's commands, a warrant  
was sent for a general pardon under the great seal, to the  
chief Governor, Privy-counsellors, and all others that  
had been employed in the King's service.

His Majesty having received, from the three Privy-  
counsellors above mentioned, a full account of the pro-  
ceedings in the late treaty, sent his entire approbation of  
the conduct of Lord ORMONDE in it. But as it appear-  
ed from all accounts, that his good subjects in Ireland were  
not able to continue the war against the rebels, without  
such supplies from England as all the world knew he could  
not send, the King authorised his Lordship to conclude a  
peace with the Irish Catholicks, upon such further con-  
cessions as he should find could not be denied without re-  
lapsing into a war; the repeal of the penal statutes against  
recusants, and the suspension of POWNING's act, only ex-  
cepted: in the latter point however, if any expedient  
could be found to prevent the danger apprehended by the  
suspension, the Marquis was ordered rather to yield, than  
to fall back into the extremity of a war; wherein the  
King was not able to maintain his good subjects there.  
But fearing the unreasonableness of the Catholic party  
would frustrate the conclusion of a peace, his Majesty  
empowered him further to receive the submissions of such  
as were willing to accept a peace on the conditions that  
had been offered, and to restore them to their blood and  
fortunes: And as the Irish were much dissatisfied with the  
continuance of the present Parliament, from which all  
that refused the oath of supremacy were excluded by a  
vote only, in usurpation of the King's prerogative, and  
in violation of the laws, the Marquis was directed to  
have that vote or order vacated. But as the greatest ob-  
struction to the peace would probably be the point of re-  
ligion, upon which the King was not willing publicly to  
relax, so he gave his word to some of the agents from the  
Irish, that the penal statutes should not be executed a-  
gainst them, if the peace were made, and they continu-  
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ed in their due obedience. By these means his Majesty flattered himself that he should satisfy the moderate well affected party of the rebels ; who would not only conclude a peace, but send him also a powerful succour against the Parliament, as they had always promised him. These however were not the only means which his Majesty made use of to this purpose. He used his power with Lord GLAMORGAN at this time, " to engage him in all possible ways to further the peace in Ireland ; whom he recommended to Lord ORMONDE, as one whose honesty or affection to the King's service would not deceive him, though his Majesty would not answer for his judgment." But a further account will be given of his Majesty's commissions, to this Earl, when we come to relate his negotiations.

Whilst the treaty of peace had been carrying on at Dublin, as before related, the Officers of some of the garrisons under the command of Lord ORMONDE, especially those at Drogheda, and Dundalk, being alarmed with false accounts of that treaty, and fearing they should have no satisfaction for their losses and arrears, entered into a conspiracy to surprise these places. A treaty was entered into by them with MONROE, to whom they promised for his assistance, half the plate, money, jewels, and goods, of which the Catholics were to be plundered. But an information having been given of it to the Marquis, proper measures were taken to defeat the design, and the conspirators were seized without any disturbance. The plot upon Dublin did not go so far. For though Captain SWANLY, who commanded the Parliament-ships which blocked up the harbour, had formed a design to surprise that city, yet being obliged to apply to the Parliament for some more ships, and land-forces, the design became known to the King, who gave Lord ORMONDE immediate notice of it. But his Lordship, having received intimations of it before, from other people, had taken effectual care to prevent it.

The defection of Lord ESMOND, in putting the fort of Duncannon into the hands of the English Parliament, hath been already mentioned : and as the Council at Kilkenny apprehended their trade would be ruined by the ships which that fort protected, and had been themselves insulted by excursions of the soldiers from it, they laid siege to it even in January, and in extreme bad weather :  
and



and in the middle of March—the Parliament neglecting to send any supplies—the fort surrendered. Lord **ESMOND** was in a manner worn out with age; but his death, in eight days after, was accelerated, by grief and vexation at the loss of his government, his breach of trust, and the ill treatment he had met with from the English Parliament, for whom he had prostituted his honour. The treaty of cessation between Lord **INCHQUIN** and the Irish, expiring at the beginning of April, Lord **CASTLEHAVEN** was sent with six thousand men into Munster, to oppose him. At the same time, they took care to apply to foreign States for succours, in order to enable them to maintain a war, or to procure a peace to their satisfaction. Though they had allowed two thousand of their men to be levied for the service of Spain, and at this time actually sent over eleven hundred into France, yet the Marquis of **ORMONDE** could not prevail with them to send any reinforcement into Scotland, which they knew was of the utmost consequence to the King's affairs, there, and in England. The truth of the matter was, they had resolved to give no assistance to the King, till such a peace was settled as would shew the world that they had taken up arms to restore their religion to its ancient splendour. All this while, Lord **CASTLEHAVEN** was reducing and destroying all the castles in Munster that did not submit to the cessation. For Lord **INCHQUIN** was so ill supplied by his new allies the English Parliament, that he could not make up an army strong enough to oppose him, nor subsist it for want of provisions: he had no part therefore left to take, but to shut himself up in Cork, whilst the Irish General wasted all the country up to the walls of that city; destroying all the harvest within the English quarters, and taking vast preys of cattle. We must now look a little into the other provinces.

The Officers of the old Scots, and the English regiments in Ulster, who had refused the covenant, and even some others, such as Lord **MONTGOMERY**, and **SR. A. MERVIN**, who had taken it, remained hitherto well affected to the King: and even the subalterns, and soldiers of the old Scots, who had entered into the measures of the English Parliament with the greatest zeal, finding themselves disappointed, and in a manner neglected by them, began to cool apace, and to shew a great disposition to forsake their party. The chief Officers of those regiments had joined in a letter to the Parliament of England, in the beginning

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beginning of March ; representing their condition, and the treatment they had received, and expostulating the matter very freely. Fourteen hundred of the forces under MONROE had been recalled ; and twelve hundred more were sent for, and did not care to go : nor were they without their discontent at the measures then pursued in England by the Parliament. SR. FRED. HAMILTON had been the principal instrument of propagating the covenant in those parts ; but by his violence, cruelties, and insolence, he was grown odious to all the Protestant Gentlemen, and Officers in the North. He had long desired the government of Derry ; and being defeated in his attempts to possess it, he applied himself to the English Parliament, vilifying all the British Officers in that province. But though he got Colonel CHICHESTER to be turned out of his regiment, and to be made Colonel of it himself, yet he could not get the government of Derry ; which, the Parliament by displacing SR. A. MERVIN though he had taken the covenant, gave to Lord FOLIOT. They made also Lord BLANEY Colonel of Lord CONWAY's regiment, whom for some offence they had imprisoned ; though like a modern patriot he had endeavoured to preserve his interest by complying with the higher powers.

The Parliament were alarmed at the letters of the British Officers, and resolved to send over a committee to see what condition the forces were in, and to make some propositions to them for carrying on the war. But their own affairs took up almost their whole time and care. In the middle of July sixteen hundred and forty-two, Lord MACGUIRE, and MACMAHON, two of the first and principal conspirators in this rebellion, had been sent into England, and committed prisoners to the Tower ; where having lain above two years they made their escape. About three months afterwards, one of them, looking out of a window of the house in which they were concealed to call after a woman crying oysters, was known by a servant passing by ; who giving information to the Lieutenant of the Tower, they were seized, and then brought immediately to their trial, at the latter end of the last year. MACMAHON was found guilty, received judgment of death, and was executed accordingly then at Tyburn : But MACGUIRE pleading his peerage, and that he ought to be tried in Ireland by his peers, it was argued several days in Westminster-hall ; and in Hilary term

term following, Judge BACON over-ruled the plea, and delivered his judgment, that a Baron of Ireland is triable by a jury in this kingdom. The two Houses of Parliament confirmed this opinion, and ordered the judge to proceed in the trial. The prisoner challenged all that the law allowed him to challenge on his jury; but he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Parliament rejected his petition to be beheaded; and he was drawn on a sledge, and executed at Tyburn.

The Parliament, as I said, had resolved to send over a committee, and clothes, provisions, and money, for the British forces in Ulster; and having made SR. CH. COOTE their President of Conaught, they ordered letters to be sent to all the British Colonels, desiring them to assist him in taking Sligo, and other places of strength in that province. The Officers met at Belfast to consider the letters; and returned answer at first that they could not comply with this request, till they received all the supplies that had been promised them. But lest this should be interpreted into an unwillingness to prosecute the war against the Irish, contrary to their declaration, they resolved to rendezvous in the county of Tyrone, and to march with an army of four thousand men against Sligo. This being done accordingly in the middle of June, and their artillery being sent by sea, after battering down three or four houses the castle surrendered. Meeting with this great success, and having no enemy to oppose them, the army advanced in different parties into the counties of Mayo and Galway, burning and destroying all before them, and taking vast droves of cattle. SR. ROB. STEWARD, who commanded the old Scots and English of this army, leaving a Lieutenant Colonel and five hundred men at Sligo, returned with the remainder to his quarters; and SR. C. COOTE staid in his new government of Conaught; in order to raise a body of horse, as the Parliament had directed him, wherewith he might overrun that province. These calamities had been foreseen long before; and had the Marquis of ORMONDE's advice, either to the King, or to the Confederates been complied with, they might easily have been prevented. On the death of Lord RANELAGH some months ago, the Lord Lieutenant recommended Lord CLANRICARDE for the presidency of that province, as the fittest man in the world for it, notwithstanding his religion,

**CHARLES I.** ligious, on account of his great estate there, his numerous alliances, his great zeal and activity in the King's service, wherein nobody had been more distinguished, and the losses and expences he had sustained. But the Intrigues, and selfishness, of the King's friends, and in his court, diserved him as much as the opposition he had from his enemies. Lord WIEMOT, and Lord DILLON, made pretensions to this post, though neither of them had a twentieth part of the merit of Lord CLANRICARDE; and in order to satisfy them both, they were made joint Presidents. This promotion was no sooner made, than the absurdity of it was seen; and that the service might not suffer, and to make Lord CLANRICARDE easy under this neglect of him, the military command of the whole province was offered him. But as he was to receive his orders from the President, his Lordship declined accepting it; yet still continued to serve with his wonted zeal and activity.

The Irish having complained that they were harrassed contrary to the cessation, by the excursions of some of the Scots, and of the garrisons in the county of Roscommon, the Marquis of ORMONDE made them the offer which hath been mentioned, and which would have prevented the calamities which they now endured. Something or other however was necessary now to be done: and in this exigence, the Marquis gave a commission to Lord TAAFE, to levy such a number of forces as should be necessary, in order to subdue those who had violated the cessation in Conaught, to the prejudice of the King's loyal subjects. The country had been much incensed against those garrisons, and hoping now to be delivered from their ravages, flocked in apace to Lord TAAFE; so that with five hundred foot, and some horse, sent him by Lord CLANRICARDE, he soon made up an army of three thousand. With this army, which was supported by the Gentlemen of the country, he took the castle of Tulsk by storm, which in defiance of the Lord Lieutenant's orders was held by Captain ORMSBY; a fiery, virulent man, who having made himself very odious by his ravages was intended to have been hanged. But the Marquis, who had been more disoblighd by him than any body, from his wonted greatness of mind, sent an order to prevent his execution, and to deliver him safely into the custody of Lord CLANRICARDE. The Governors of all the other Castles readily submitted to take

an Oath, to observe the cessation, and to obey the orders of the Lord Lieutenant; except Castle-coote, which surrendered without striking a stroke. The garrisons in Roscommon, which had been so very troublesome to the Gentlemen of the country, and their tenants, being thus reduced, the army was dispersed without any other attempt.

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In this situation affairs were in the provinces, whilst the treaty of Peace, at the King's pressing command, was renewed, and carrying on at Dublin. The reader hath seen the full powers which his majesty had given the Lord Lieutenant to conclude a peace; and a commission hath been mentioned to the Lord GLAMORGAN. There was however another pressing order of the King's to Lord ORMONDE for this purpose, not yet taken notice of, at the latter end of February; in which he "commands him to conclude a peace with the Irish whatever it cost, so that his Protestant subjects there might be secured, and his regal authority preserved: and though he leaves the management of this great and necessary work entirely to him, yet he cannot but tell him, that if the suspension of POYNING's act for such bills as may be agreed on, and the present taking away the penal laws against Papists by a law will do it, he shall not think it an hard bargain; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in his assistance, against the rebels in England and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience and honour." The reader will be pleased to remember, that in the former instructions to the Lord Lieutenant, these two points were limited: and though the last was consented to be yielded, if an expedient could be found to prevent the danger of it, yet the other, "the repeal of the penal statutes against Recusants, the King said, he could not, either with his own honour, or the safety of his Protestant subjects, consent to." But now his Majesty had either lost his notion of honour, or given orders contrary to it. He did not choose to speak more plainly to Lord ORMONDE, because he knew it would not be agreeable to him; and even thus far the Marquis did not go. It was this experience of his Lordship's integrity, and steadfastness in his religion, that no doubt induced the King, to give those strange commissions to LORD GLAMORGAN which will be recited, and to write a Letter to the Pope, as well as his Nuncio.

There

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There is nothing in the whole history of his Majesty's reign, of a more curious texture, than this negociation with the Nuncio, and Lord GLAMORGAN; and which will more clearly develope the real character of this King: and yet it is a point, on which all our Historians have been erroneous, or defective. General LUDLOW's account of it is comprised in a few lines: and Lord CLARENDON, who is so copious upon other subjects, and was then of the King's Council, has not taken the least notice of it, either in his history of the rebellion in England, or in Ireland. It made too much noise for him not to know it; and his silence therefore is a proof that he thought this negociation a blot in the King's character, that could not be covered over with any artifice. No other historian except CARTE, have had the means of acquiring a full and just information: and though he had access to the Nuncio's memoirs, already mentioned, yet he hath made but little use of them in those parts which bear hard upon the conduct of the King. The Manuscript letters of his Majesty to Lord GLAMORGAN, in the Harleian collection, it is probable he did not see; and therefore in that respect he stands excused: but whether none of his Lordship's Letters to the Marquis of ORMONDE, relating to this important transaction, were found in the collection of the Ormonde papers—though he hath neither mentioned, nor published such—may be justly doubted. The reader however shall have the best, and most impartial account, that I can meet with; and it will need no apology that I discuss it very fully.

In the first six months of this year, there are no less than eight letters from the King himself, besides those of the secretaries, pressing for a conclusion of the Irish peace, that he might have a timely and considerable assistance from them to subdue the Parliament; or, in his own words, “to persuade the English rebels to return to their wits.” It is true, that in some of these, he mentions the impossibility of preserving his Protestant subjects in Ireland, by a continuation of the war: yet that that did not move him to press the peace, so often, and so warmly, and to give the extraordinary power, just mentioned, on the repeal of the penal laws, and the suspension of POYNING's act, is very evident from another letter in December following; in which he assures the Marquis of ORMONDE, that nothing can be of more prejudice to his  
 affairs,

affairs, than that the peace of Ireland should be concluded, without a most certain assurance of a timely, and considerable assistance. Wherefore as his Lordship is most earnestly to endeavour the conclusion of the peace, with positive assurance, that before April next, the King should have six thousand well armed foot from thence, so if the Marquis found that people, either not willing, or able, to give his Majesty this considerable assistance, before the beginning of April, his Lordship must upon no terms conclude the peace, without first advertising the King of it." The impossibility of carrying on the war, and to preserve his Protestant subjects, was here out of sight at least, if not overthrown; and that the assistance from Ireland, which was the "*sine qua non*" of the peace, was his Majesty's grand and primary motive for pressing it to be concluded, will appear still further as we go on.

The author of the Nuncio's memoirs complains in several places of the Marquis of ORMONDE, for not obeying the King's orders in making peace with the Irish, tho' nothing but that peace could prevent his ruin. At last, he says, that the King, being tired out with his delays, deputed Lord GLAMORGAN, who had deserved more of him than any one, to make a peace. The truth is, that this Earl, who was a zealous bigotted Roman Catholick, and had assisted the King at a vast expence, was favoured with a great share of his Majesty's confidence, and esteem. In the Harleian Manuscripts now deposited in the Museum, there are several original letters from the King to Lord GLAMORGAN, which abundantly prove this. Whatever were the motives which induced the King to employ this Nobleman apart from the Lord Lieutenant, in a treaty of peace with the Irish, it is said in the Nuncio's memoirs, that "being connected with the confederate Catholicks, by affinity, and religion he was the most proper person to negotiate a peace with them; because the King, being in the hands of the Hereticks, could employ none but a Roman Catholick to grant the Irish their own terms with regard to religion; which were not fit to be known publicly, till his Majesty, having subdued the rebels in England, and Scotland, should be in a condition to avow, and ratify those concessions." It is true, that in a letter of the latter end of December preceding, the King mentioned to Lord ORMONDE his having engaged the Earl to further the peace

**CHARLES I.** in Ireland; as it hath been related. But neither his Majesty, nor his Secretaries, in their frequent correspondence with the Lord Lieutenant, have ever dropped a word of any commission, warrant, or instruction, given to Lord GLAMORGAN; and the first time he is at all mentioned is not till May, and then by the Marquis; to whom it seems the Earl had intimated in a letter from Wales, that he was bound for Ireland. But though this great Minister was thus kept in the dark about the embassy—which, it must be owned, hath a bad aspect—yet the Irish had notice of it, and depended much upon his advices and undertakings when the Earl should come.

According to the Nuncio's memoirs, the King had given Lord GLAMORGAN; on the sixth of January, a commission under the great seal, to levy any number of Men in Ireland, and other parts beyond the sea, to command, and to put Officers over them, to make governors of forts, and towns, and to receive the King's rents, &c. On the twelfth of the same month, his Majesty gave him another commission under his sign manual and private signet; in which it is said, that "whatsoever he should perform, as warranted under the sign manual, pocket signet, or private mark, or even by word of mouth, without further ceremony, his Majesty did, in the word of a King, and a Christian, promise to make good to all intents and purposes, as effectually as if his authority had been under the great seal of England." On the twelfth of March, another warrant was given to the Earl as follows:

### CHARLES R.

CHARLES, by the grace of GOD, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. to our trusty and right well beloved cousin, EDWARD Earl of GLAMORGAN, greeting. We reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these—as firmly as under our great seal to all intents and purposes—authorise, and give you power to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman Catholics in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any be to be condescended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot so well be seen in; as not fit for us at present publicly to own. Therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant with all possible secrecy; and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself, upon such valuable considerations as you in your judgment shall deem



deem fit, we promise upon the word of a King and a Christian, to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you and under your hand and seal; the said confederate Catholicks having by their supplies testified their zeal to our service: and this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Oxford, under our signet and royal signature, the twelfth of March, in the twentieth year of our reign sixteen hundred forty five.

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There is a latin translation of all the three commissions in the Nuncio's Memoirs; and of the last there is a copy in RUSHWORTH, from which it was transcribed. The King, in his declaration to the two Houses of Parliament on the negotiation of Lord GLAMORGAN, acknowledges "that he having made an offer to his Majesty to raise forces in Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his Majesty's service, had a commission to that purpose: but then the King affirms it was to that purpose only, and not to treat of any thing else without the privy and direction of the Lord Lieutenant." His Majesty doth not deny that the commission above recited, and which had been made public, was that commission; nor doth he own it. But if the commission given to him was to no other purpose than is above mentioned, why was his embassy into Ireland never mentioned by the King and his Secretaries in all their letters to the Lord Lieutenant, and what occasion was there for his executing this commission, without the privy and directions of the Marquis? His Majesty owns that he had no commission at all to treat of any thing else, without his privy and direction; which is owning also that this was so to be treated of. But who can credit this, who hath seen the many directions to the Marquis himself, to treat for Irish forces to be sent to England?

The reader may make his own reflections on this passage; but MR. HUME's reflexions in his history require some notice. He says, \* though this declaration seems to be agreeable to truth, it gave no satisfaction to the Parliament; and some historians even at present, when the ancient bigotry is universally abated, are desirous of representing this very innocent transaction, in which the King was engaged by the most violent necessity, as a stain on the memory of that unfortunate Prince."

CHARLES I. At the end of this passage, he subjoins a note, in which he mentions DR. BIRCH's treatise on this subject; "any facts contained in which it is not his business to oppose. He should only produce arguments which prove that GLAMORGAN, when he received his private commission, had injunctions from the King " to act altogether in concert with ORMONDE." The reader doubtless imagines, that these arguments relate to the commission which the King owns in the above declaration he had given Lord GLAMORGAN to raise forces in Ireland, and avows also in it to be to that purpose only: it is natural the reader should imagine so, else why are they produced? But though the King had declared that the Earl had no other commission, and MR. HUME mentions no other, yet all his arguments do relate to another, very wide of the purpose of raising forces in Ireland. If his Majesty did give no other commission to the Earl, why all his parade of arguing to shew, " that he had injunctions from the King to act altogether in concert with ORMONDE; which by the way would convict the King of a falsehood, in saying, " that he had no commission at all to treat of any any thing else, without the privy and direction of the Lord Lieutenant?" Because that is owning, as I said before, that this was to be so treated of. But if the King did give another commission to Lord GLAMORGAN, where was his Majesty's veracity when he declared, " that he had a commission to that purpose—raising forces in Ireland—and to that purpose only," and which this writer says seems to be agreeable to truth? In the first case, if MR. HUME is sincere, his vindication of the Monarch is extremely weak; if he is not sincere, it is extremely falacious. In the last case, the King, who, he says in another place, " was candid, sincere and upright as much almost as any man whom we meet with in history," is convicted of a wilful public falsehood. But I shall have an occasion presently to make some further observations on his defence of his Majesty's conduct in this " very innocent transaction."

On the thirtieth of April, the King wrote a letter to RINUCCINI, an Italian prelate and the Pope's Nuncio into Ireland, which was to be delivered by Lord GLAMORGAN, as a credential for what the Earl should negotiate with him. In the memoirs so often mentioned, there is a copy of that letter transcribed from the original, which the writer saith was then extant, and sealed with

with the King's privy seal in red wax ; and it may be thus  
literally translated ;

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SIR,

Hearing of your resolution for Ireland we do not doubt but things will go well, and that the good intentions began by means of the last Pope, will be accomplished by the present, by your means in our kingdoms of Ireland and England, you joining with our dear cousin the Earl of GLAMORGAN ; with whom whatever you shall resolve, we shall think ourselves obliged to, and perform it at his return. His great merits oblige us to this confidence, which we repose in him above all, having known him above twenty years ; during which time, he hath always signally advanced himself in our good esteem, and by all kind of means carried the prize above all our subjects. This being joined to the consideration of his blood, you may well judge of the passion which we have particularly for him, and that nothing shall be wanting on our part to perfect what he shall oblige himself to in our name, in consideration of the favours received by your means. Confide therefore in him ; but in the mean while according to the directions that we have given him, how important it is that the affair should be kept secret, there is no occasion to persuade you, nor to recommend it to you, since you see that the necessity of the thing itself requires it. This is the first letter which we have ever wrote immediately to any Minister of State of the Pope, hoping that it will not be the last ; but that after the said Earl and you shall have concerted your measures, we shall openly shew ourself, as we have assured him,

Your Friend

CHARLES, R.

From our Court at Oxford 30th April, 1645.

I shall make no other reflections upon this letter, which the writer hath said is given with the utmost exactness, than that it certainly adds a credit and authenticity to the commissions, however extraordinary, that were produced by Lord GLAMORGAN ; and which CARTE, and other writers after him, have pronounced to be forgeries, But more of this in the sequel.—When the Nuncio arrived at Paris in his way to Ireland, the Queen of England, who—to use his expression—was Queen not so much of the nation as of the King himself, had been

**CHARLES I.** there for some time to solicit assistance for her husband. It is beside the purpose of this history to give a minute detail of the Nuncio's secret negotiation with the Queen; to whom he was charged with a Brief from the Pope, and a letter from Cardinal PAMPHILIO the Pope's nephew. It shall suffice only to say, that as the Queen durst not admit the Nuncio's visit in form, for fear of the prejudice it might do to the King's affairs, and as the Nuncio was too full of his high character to submit to a private audience, the business was managed by the Queen's confessor, and the Nuncio's secretary. She assured him by the former, that she was very sorry that the laws of England did not permit her to see him, and that she approved of the reasons he had given why he could not visit her, unless in a manner suitable to the dignity of the Prince he represented. On the other hand, the Nuncio sent his secretary to the Queen with the brief and letter above-mentioned, to assure her of the Pope's and the Nuncio's zeal for her service, and to desire her Majesty's leave for him to go to Ireland. The Queen would have been glad to have detained him, at least till the peace was made; but that not being in her power, she declared her confidence in the Nuncio's good offices, and wished him a prosperous journey.

**K. CH.  
Works**

The Queen had been impowered, by a letter from the King in March, "to promise to whom she thought fit, that he would take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholicks in England, as soon as God should enable him to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, he might have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable him to do it." She resolved therefore to solicit the Pope for his assistance: and when she heard of the Nuncio's appointment to go to Ireland, she sent **SR. KEN. DIGBY** to Rome to that end, where he continued several months in his solicitations, and at last procured a subsidy from his Holiness. In the mean time, the Queen endeavoured to make a peace with the Irish, through the guaranty or mediation of the Queen regent of France: and Lord **JERMYN**, the King's Minister with her, said in a letter to Lord **DIGBY**, which was intercepted, that the only thing he feared in such a treaty was, "that the King's party in Ireland might possibly not acquiesce in such a peace as would be fit for the King to make; and then he would have the scandal of it—for it would be a scandalous one, that is unavoidable —without

—without the benefit of an assistance from Ireland.” CHARLES I.  
 But this proposal of a treaty, between the two Queens  
 and the confederate Cotholicks, came to nothing. We  
 shall now therefore return to Ireland, to see the progress  
 that had been made in one there by the Lord Lieutenant.

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The King's instructions, in answer to the state of the treaty when it was adjourned, and which had been given him by the three Counsellors sent to him, as above mentioned, for that purpose, had been delayed through the taking of those Ministers at sea by the ships of the Parliament. But as soon as Lord ORMONDE received them by another hand, he sent to have the treaty renewed on the tenth of April. The Irish, who wanted to know from their agents what foreign assistance they might expect, desired the meeting might be put off for a month longer; and though on the Lord Lieutenant's refusing this, their Commissioners came to Dublin, yet they declared that as their General Assembly was to meet on the fifteenth of May, they would not conclude any thing without their approbation. They were so full of the notions which their friends in England had instilled into them, that the King's necessities would compel him to grant them every thing they demanded, that Lord ORMONDE could bring them to nothing more, than to deliver their propositions and debate the matter of them; to which they desired the most favourable answers that could be given. In these debates they were convinced, that there was no occasion for the suspension of POYNING's act: but in lieu of their conceding upon that point, they made a new and extravagant demand in the distribution of honours and places; and instead of being promoted to them indifferently as his other subjects, which was all that they had asked, they insisted now, that the King should oblige himself to employ an equal number, of Popish natives, and of Protestants. But this, they were told in plain terms, too nearly touched the King's prerogative, and the safety of the kingdom, to be granted.

The Marquis, finding that they would not conclude a peace at this meeting, and not knowing whether concessions in repealing the penal statutes would content them, did not think proper to mention his enlarged powers—above related—on that head; being in hopes, from some intelligence he had received, that a qualification of those statutes would be sufficient, and thinking it

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On the other hand, the agents made great complaints against the decree, as charging them with the breach of their oath; and insisted it should be reversed. But they could get nothing but a declaration, that they did not mean that their agents had been guilty of perjury unless they had actually broken their oath. This did not satisfy them; and they protested, that if no other reparation of their honour was made, they would break off all communication with the Clergy, leave them to their own measures, and not trouble themselves any more about peace, or war. Upon this, a conference was ordered between some of the Assembly and some of the Convocation; and the Clergy added to their former explanation, "that they might make peace with a safe conscience, though a special condition for retaining the churches were not inserted in the articles; provided the effect thereof was obtained, and the Catholics should actually keep their possession." But this did not give satisfaction to men of sense and candour, who saw that the King could not grant the churches and endowments to their party, either in honour or conscience; and yet they had a scruple to article for the restitution of them to the Protestant Clergy. In this exigence Lord CLANRICARDE proposed, that the Catholics might retain their possession till the peace was confirmed by act of Parliament, and then the churches—there being no article at all relating to them—would be restored of course to the Protestants by the laws of the land. But as the Marquis of ORMONDE had made an express demand of the churches for the Protestant Clergy in the name of the King, he would not retract that article, which he thought would be to his Majesty's prejudice, and dishonour. This expedient however would not have been accepted.

For about the middle of June, two of their agents were sent from the General Assembly to Duhlin, to renew the treaty: the others being to follow at the breaking up of their Assembly. There is nothing more certain in this history, than that it was the fixed resolution of these people to take advantage of the King's necessities; though their own ruin, as well as his, were hazarded by it, and in the end, as it will be seen, it was the consequence: and who can pity them? As the King's necessities encreased, the Irish Catholics rose in their demands; and the agents were sent with such new propositions, as though they ima-

imagined the game was in their own hands entirely. They required that the act of oblivion should be without exception of persons; that the planted lands in Wicklow, and Kilkenny, should be restored to the ancient owners by act of Parliament; that every one aggrieved by the old plantations in King JAMES's reign, might be relieved by Parliament; that all the penal laws that were ever made against Roman Catholics, and the statutes of provisors and premunire, should be repealed; that all Catholics should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy; that all their titular Bishops and Prelates should exercise their jurisdiction upon those of their religion without controul; that a further act should be made to exempt the Catholics from all penalties whatever on account of the exercise of their religion; that the churches which were in their possession, should neither be demanded, nor expected from them, for they might not restore them; that not only all their cities, forts, and places in their hands should remain so, but that they should continue to exercise their new form of government, till every thing was settled by act of Parliament according to the articles of the peace; that they should not only have an equality of numbers, and of eminence of places, in all civil and military offices, in the privy council, in courts of law, and of magistracy, and profit, throughout the kingdom, but that his Majesty's favour in this respect should be made certain, by particular instances at present; that this condition should be expressed in the articles of peace, and extend to future times in like manner; that they might erect universities, and free schools; that POYNING's act should be suspended, and all impediments to that suspension, and their own sitting in Parliament, might be removed; that all their debts to the Protestants might be compounded by Commissioners; that all who did not submit to the peace should be declared traitors, and be attainted in Parliament; that all Privy-counsellors, Judges, and Magistrates, before they executed their offices, should be sworn to observe the articles of pacification; and that an act of Parliament should be passed, that neither those articles, nor any part of them, should ever be repealed.

The reader will easily imagine that these propositions were not assented to; but I have given them at length in order to shew to what a monstrous height of arrogance the Irish Catholics were now arrived. The Lord Lieutenant

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tenant was justly incensed at these new demands, so unreasonable in them to ask, and impossible for the King to grant; and though the agents had made them, in obedience to the instructions of the Assembly, yet being some of the wisest and most moderate men among them, they saw how impracticable it would be to treat of them; and were well enough inclined to accept the concessions which Lord ORMONDE was willing to make. Of these his Lordship drew up a brief, and delivered to Lord MUSKERY, to be laid before the General Assembly, which was to meet at Kilkenny in the beginning of August. Whilst they were tediously debating upon them, the Marquis sent the King a detail of all the transactions, and copies of all the papers that passed in the treaty; and had his Majesty's entire approbation. The Earl of GLAMORGAN, who arrived at Dublin, at the time when the last conference was held with the Irish agents, was present and assisting at it; and he either went with them, or immediately followed them to Kilkenny. For on the eleventh of that month, the Marquis of ORMONDE wrote a Letter to Lord MUSKERY; in which after observing that the importance of the timely execution of the business was twice as great as it was before, on account of some late incidents in England, and that he had expressed a desire that the Marquis should act in concert with Lord GLAMORGAN, the Marquis thought it necessary to acquaint Lord MUSKERY, "that he knew no subject in England, upon whose favour and authority with his Majesty, and real and innate nobility, he could better rely than upon Lord GLAMORGAN's: nor any person whom the Marquis would more endeavour to serve in those things which that Lord should undertake for the service of his Majesty, or with whom the Marquis should sooner agree for the benefit of the kingdom." This letter is given in the Nuncio's memoirs; and it is very observable that it is not in CARTE's collection. But there is a letter there from the Marquis to Lord CLANRICARDE ten days after, in which he says, "I did not intend that letter of mine to my Lord MUSKERY should have been made use of as a public dispatch; and herein I hope your Lordship is satisfied, by a letter of mine sent in answer to their offer upon my heedless motion;—for so indeed it was—so much that I kept not a copy of it." What that offer and answer were, doth not appear; but the Marquis's letter above-mentioned was some months after delivered



to the Nuncio by the Supreme Council, as a proof that the Lord Lieutenant would support the agreement that had been, or should be, made with the Earl of GLAMORGAN. The Confederates accordingly proceeded immediately to prosecute the treaty with that Earl; who shewed a readiness to consent to those articles which the Marquis of ORMONDE had refused: And though the Pope's agent then in Ireland delivered a remonstrance against their scheme, of making a public peace with the Lord Lieutenant and a private one with the Earl of GLAMORGAN, and disjoining the religious from the political articles, yet in the latter end of August, they concluded the treaty.

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The preamble set forth the difficulties which had retarded the conclusion of a peace with the Lord Lieutenant, and the authority which was intrusted with Lord GLAMORGAN, to assure further grace and favours to the Catholics than the Lord Lieutenant had granted them; and the substance of the treaty was as follows: That all the Catholics in Ireland should enjoy the free and public exercise of their religion, and all the churches which were not then actually enjoyed by the Protestants; that all the Catholics should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy, and the Popish Clergy not be punished for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective flocks; that an act of Parliament should pass to secure the King's concessions to them,—the form of which act was inserted;—that no body should disturb the Catholics in possession of the articles above specified, of which the Earl engaged the King's word for the performance; that the public faith of the kingdom should be engaged to him, for sending ten thousand men armed, by order of the General Assembly, to serve the King in England, Scotland, or Wales, under command of the said Earl; the Officers of which army to be named by the Supreme Council, or the General Assembly. Besides these articles, there was a stipulation to employ two-thirds of the revenue of the Clergy for three years towards the maintenance of the army; and an explanation of the article concerning the church livings, that at present they should not be secured by act of Parliament, as prejudicial to the King, but in some other way which Lord GLAMORGAN engaged for, till a fit opportunity offered to do it by act of Parliament. It was also declared to be

fur-

**CHARLES I.** further intended, that the Catholic Clergy should not be interrupted in any way, as to the said livings, contrary to the meaning of these articles. When these were signed, the Earl added a protestation or oath, "to acquaint the King with these proceedings, and the punctual performance of what he had, as authorized by his Majesty, obliged himself to see performed; and in default not to permit the army intrusted to his charge, nor any part of it, to adventure itself till conditions from and by the King are performed." The General Assembly suspecting that the Lord Lieutenant might oppose the execution of this peace, in three days after made an order, "that their union and oath of association should remain firm, and inviolable, and in full strength, in all points, and to all purposes, till the articles of the intended peace should be ratified in Parliament, notwithstanding any proclamation of the peace."

The Catholics had thus settled every part of their secret treaty to their satisfaction; and in the beginning of September, their agents returned to Dublin, in order to renew their public treaty with the Lord Lieutenant. But his Lordship desired, before he entered upon it, that they would express in writing, with what concessions of his they were satisfied, and all the demands they intended to make, that their time and trouble might be shortened. This request was complied with; and most of their former extravagant propositions were now omitted. They moved for the suspension of POYNING's act, restoring the planted lands in Wicklow, and Kilkenny, to the old proprietors, relief of the sufferers through the Ulster plantation by Parliament, and an act to assert the independency of the kingdom; but when these were refused, they seemed to acquiesce. A general pardon to them, and the heirs of such of their party as were dead, was granted; with an exception of the authors and procurers of murder. They were gratified in the ascertaining of some few instances of offices, and commands, to be conferred on such of their party as the King should choose. They fixed the assistance they would give the King at ten thousand foot; and it was agreed to give a commission to persons of their naming, to applot money on their quarters for paying and subsisting the men, and settling all disputes in them for any thing under ten pounds value till the

the peace was perfected: provided that nothing was done, but under the authority, and with the concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant. In short nothing seemed now to obstruct a peace but the article of religion; the agents requiring that the Catholics might be exempted by act of Parliament from the oath of supremacy, the book of Common Prayer, and all penalties and incapacities imposed on them in virtue of any statute since the reformation. But the Marquis apprehending that this was intended to qualify the Popish Clergy to hold their livings, without the oath of supremacy, or using the English liturgy, insisted on the restriction, that this exemption should not extend to the statutes of provision and premunire, nor to any other laws in force, which concerned the jurisdiction or prerogative of the Crown, nor to that statute of Queen ELIZABETH which related to Ecclesiasticks, and the Common Prayer. The agents used all their endeavours to prevail on the Marquis to withdraw his restrictions; and declared they had a power to conclude a peace, if their exemption might stand without them. But he would not yield: and after many debates upon it in vain, the agents left Dublin, on the twelfth of November, to report their proceedings to the Assembly:

The Lord Lieutenant had very wisely taken the advice and approbation of the Council in all his proceedings on this treaty; and he had very freely and plainly informed Lord DIGBY, that if it was possible, it would be dangerous to conclude a peace without, or against the advice of the Council of that kingdom. But he supposed, he said, that it was not at all to be done without them; as the essential part must be drawn into acts to be passed in Parliament, but which could not be transmitted according to law without the consent of the Council, unless POYNING's act were suspended, which must also pass their votes: and he found by experience, that further than they saw the King's directions for it, they would not consent to any thing of favour for the Irish. The King however was then so much distressed by the ill run of his affairs in England, that though he had all along protested to the Parliament against granting any toleration of Popery in Ireland, as inconsistent with his honour and conscience, and but three months before had assured the Marquis, "that he would rather leave it to the chance of war, than to give his consent to any such allowance of Popery, as must evidently bring destruction to that profession,

which

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A. 1645.

which by the grace of God he should ever maintain  
ough all extremities," yet all this was now laid aside ;  
on the twenty-second of October, he wrote Lord  
ORMONDE the following letter.

ORMONDE,

I find by yours to DIGBY, that you are somewhat cautious not to conclude the peace without at least the concurrence of the Council there ; which if you could procure, I confess it would be so much the better.—But the Irish peace is of such absolute necessity, that no compliments or particular respects whatsoever must hinder it. Wherefore I absolutely command you, and without reply, to execute the directions I sent you the twenty-seventh of February last ; giving you leave to get the approbation of the Council, so as, and no otherwise, that by seeking it you do not hazard the peace, or so much as an affront, by their foolish refusing to concur with you ; promising upon the word of a King, if God prosper me, you shall be so far from receiving any prejudice by doing this so necessary work, though alone, that I will account it as one of the chiefest of your great services to me, and accordingly you shall be thought on by

Your, &c.

CHARLES, R.

I have given the reader this letter in the King's own words, that I may not be suspected of misrepresenting him. For when we consider that the directions in February, to which he refers, were to consent to the suspension of POYNING's act for such bills as might be agreed on, and the repeal of the penal statutes against Papists by a law—which, in a former letter he had said, " he could not either with his own honour, or the safety of his Protestant subjects, consent to"—it must be allowed that this command to Lord ORMONDE, to conclude a peace upon those conditions, even against the opinion, if it should be so, of the Council, throws an indelible blemish upon the character of this King. The Marquis, who was more jealous of the King's honour than the King himself, in conjunction with the Council, sent DAN. O'NEIL to Kilkenny, with an answer to a paper the agents had delivered at parting, for an explanation of some general answers to their articles ; and with a proposal, that if the Assembly did not agree to the restrictions he  
had

had insisted upon—above mentioned—the whole article might be left to his Majesty's determination. Thus the Marquis was endeavouring to save the King's honour, if he could, by concluding a peace without a flagrant violation of it; but if that could not be done, he was determined to save his own. In a few days after, Lord DIGBY made his escape from a defeat in Yorkshire, and arrived at Dublin; of whose assistance the Marquis was very glad: he was known to be the chief Minister, and favourite of the King; and he sent a letter to Kilkenny to press for a speedy resolution, in answer to the proposal of the Lord Lieutenant.

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A. 1645.

But the Nuncio was now arrived; and his authority and counsels were to be considered. The Pope having resolved to assist the Catholics in Ireland, and to send as a Nuncio to them a man of dignity and spirit, RINUCCINI Archbishop of Fermo, descended of a noble family at Florence, and of long experience in the Court of Rome, was appointed for that service. As soon as he arrived, the Supreme Council gave him a full account of their proceedings, both with the Lord Lieutenant, and the Earl of GLAMORGAN; and it was referred to his consideration what further steps were to be taken, in order to preserve the Catholic religion, and to support the King's authority. The Earl of GLAMORGAN communicated to him also the King's commissions, by virtue of which he had made the treaty; and shewing him a letter sealed and directed to the Pope, delivered him that to himself from the King, above recited. Mr. CARTE, according to his usual unfairness, says, that the Nuncio refused to receive the letter to the Pope; whereas the truth is, according to the memoirs, that it was offered him only to look at. "*Spectandum quoque mihi dedit regis epistolam directam ad suam sanctitatem.*" At the same time the Earl presented to him a paper in Italian, containing not only the heads of the commissions already specified, but of some much larger; amongst which was a patent granted him from the King, on the first of April sixteen hundred forty four, and a commission to make concessions in point of religion in Ireland, by way of supplement to the authority of the Lord Lieutenant. Whatever objections are made to the authenticity of the commissions, or powers assumed by the Earl, from the extraordinary nature of those powers, they seem to be fully answered by this patent, not only related in these

CHARLES I. memoirs, but published in both the editions of COLLINS's peerage of England, and never contraverted.

A. 1645.

After reciting his several titles—among the rest that of Earl of GLAMORGAN—he is appointed Generalissimo of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign, and Admiral of a fleet at sea, with a power to recommend his Lieutenant General, and to name and commission all his other officers; to contract with any subjects in England, Ireland, or Wales, for wardships, customs, woods, or any of the King's rights or prerogatives, in order to raise money for so chargeable an employment: and for persons of generosity for whom titles of honour are most desirable, he was intrusted with several patents under the great seal of England from a Marquis to a Baronet, which he had full power and authority to date and dispose of, without knowing the King's further pleasure: and then it follows, “so great is our trust and confidence in you, as that whatsoever you do contract for, or promise, we will make good the same accordingly from the date of this our commission forwards; which, for the better satisfaction, we give you leave to give them, or any of them, copies thereof attested under your hand and seal of arms: and for your own encouragement, and in token of our gratitude, we give and allow you henceforward, such fees, titles, pre-eminences and privileges, as do and may belong unto your place and command above mentioned, with promise of our dear daughter ELIZABETH to your son PLANTAGINET in marriage, with three hundred thousand pounds in dower or portion, most part whereof we acknowledge spent and disbursed by your father and you in our service, and the title of Duke of Somerset to you and your heirs male for ever; and from henceforward to give the garter to your arms, and at your pleasure to put on the George and blue ribband: and for your greater honour, and in testimony of our reality, we have with our own hand affixed the great seal of England unto these our commission and letters, making them patents. Witness ourself at Oxford, the first day of April in the twentieth year of our reign, and the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and forty four.

This was probably the same patent which was the subject of an enquiry in the house of Lords soon after the restoration, as being granted—with respect to the Dukedom of Somerset—in prejudice to other peers: on which Lord GLAMORGAN confessed that he had such a patent,  
of

of which he had made no use, and was willing to deliver up to his Majesty ; which he did accordingly. There is however no doubt to be made that this was a genuine patent ; and this being granted, it is a very corroborating proof at least of the authenticity of the several powers, and blanks, which he produced to the Nuncio. If the King himself put the great seal to this commission, and these letters—as in this patent he owns he did—the reasoning of the Secretaries of State against their genuineness, as being issued without their countersigning, and intervention, is entirely overthrown. Mr. CARTE hath also accused the Earl of forging these powers, not only without any proof, but in direct contradiction to the authority given him, in the Nuncio's memoirs, and in this patent. Mr. HUME, in the first edition of his history, declared for the supposition of the forgery, of the Earl's commissions. But in the late edition and place before mentioned, having acknowledged that a note he had just made was somewhat different from that published in the first edition, he adds, that “ on a review he does not find that the King ever positively affirmed that GLAMORGAN's powers were forgeries. He says not so in his declaration to the Parliament above cited. In his letter to ORMONDE, and the Irish Council, he seems even to acknowledge their reality.” But his Majesty's contradiction to himself, in that declaration, and in that letter hath been already observed : and if we should go so far as to say with this writer, that it was “ a very innocent transaction”—which from what had been related under the King's own hand doth not appear so—yet surely his Majesty's falsehood in vindication of it, is very inconsistent with the character given of him by Mr. HUME, “ that he was as candid, sincere, and upright, as any man almost to be met with in history.”

The Nuncio being thoroughly informed of the proceedings on all sides, delivered his own opinion in a latin speech in December to the Council at Kilkenny, which was against keeping secret the religious articles of their peace made with the Earl, and publishing only the political ones made with the Lord Lieutenant ; of some of which he made great complaint. The Supreme Council drew up a reply to his objections, in a manner which made him suspect, that the peace with Lord ORMONDE was concluded before his arrival, though it was not thought proper then to publish it. But in this he was

CHARLES I.

A. 1645.

mistaken. They agreed however to the proposal last made by the Marquis; and on the twelfth of December, sent Mr. J. WALSH to Dublin to settle what remained, and particularly the clause, "that nothing in the articles should be construed to hinder the benefit of his Majesty's concessions, to whom the rest were referred." But now a new scene was discovered. An attempt having been made by the Irish upon Sligo at the end of October, in which the titular Archbishop of TUAM had a command, the rebels were beaten, and the Prelate killed; in whose baggage was found a copy of the treaty with Lord GLAMORGAN. These papers having been transmitted to the English Parliament, were published by them with great pleasure; and with no less dispersed in Ireland. As soon as they were received by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to whom Lord DIGBY was now joined, they judged it necessary to do something to vindicate the King's honour, and justice, so deeply wounded by this treaty; and to prevent as much as possible any further prejudice to his affairs. The Earl had been sent for by Lord DIGBY to explain his letter by WALSH, in which he said that three thousand men were ready to embark in order to relieve Chester; about which WALSH, who was well instructed in every thing else, could give no satisfaction. The Earl came up accordingly late on Christmas eve; but in the interim, a copy of his treaty had been received. Wherefore when the Council were met on the twenty sixth, Lord DIGBY came to the board, and charging the Earl of GLAMORGAN with a suspicion of high treason, moved that his person might be secured: after this he produced the treaty, which being read, he declaimed against it with great warmth; assuring them "that he was confident, that the King, to redeem his crown, his life, and the lives of his Queen and children, would not grant to the confederates the least piece of concessions so destructive to his regality, and religion." But it is plain that he did not know—nor to speak impartially, the King himself—what he would do when he came to be pushed to extremities.—I mean no reflection upon the King at all in this. Human nature is too frail, and the powers of the human mind are too feeble, for any man to know certainly how far his fortitude may be depended upon when he shall be pushed to such extremities.—It is certain that the report of this secret treaty with Lord GLAMORGAN,



MORGAN, attested by so many copies that had got a-  
broad, afforded an occasion of great clamour to his ene-  
mies, and to his most faithful Protestant subjects uneasiness and discontent.

CHARLES I.

A. 1646.

On the next day after his commitment, the earl was examined by a committee of the Council, to whom he owned the whole transaction, that he had consulted with no body in it but the parties with whom he made the agreement; and what he did therein, was not as he conceived obligatory to his Majesty. But two days afterwards, he desired that to his confession might be added the following words, “ and yet without any just blemish of my honour, honesty, or conscience.” He sent for the original counterpart of the articles, and the copy of his oath; and delivering them to the Council he was enlarged from his imprisonment, but still confined to the castle. To shew that the King was not obliged by his agreement, he produced a defeazance which he had signed, expressing that he did not intend to oblige his Majesty otherwise than he himself should please; but at the same time promising upon his word and honour not to acquaint the King with this defeazance, till he had endeavoured all he could to induce his Majesty to grant what he had stipulated; which endeavour was to discharge his engagement to them.

When the Marquis of ORMONDE urged the Earl in private some days after to shew him his authority, he produced the warrant mentioned of the twelfth of January—having deposited the other with the Supreme Council—and at the Marquis’s request, sent him a copy of it the next day written with his own hand, and attested with his name in form; which the Marquis sent to the King, as the other of the twelfth of March had been before. We have already seen what the King said, in his printed declaration, of the commission given to Lord GLAMORGAN: that it was to treat of nothing, except the sending forces out of Ireland, without the privity and directions of the Lord Lieutenant; to which shall now be added, that his Majesty also says in the same paper, “ that he hath given directions to the Lord Lieutenant and the Council there to proceed against the said Earl.” In his letter to them about this transaction, he says “ it is possible he might have thought fit to have given the Earl of GLAMORGAN such a credential as might give him credit with the Roman Catholics, in case the Marquis should find occasion to

CHARLES I.

A. 1646.

make use of him, either as a further assurance to them of what he should privately promise, or in case he should judge it necessary to manage those matters for their greater confidence apart by the Earl, of whom they might be less jealous." "This," says he, "is all, and the very bottom of what we might have possibly entrusted to the Earl of GLAMORGAN." But this the reader sees is another, and a very different purpose, from that which he affirms, two days before, in his declaration to the Parliament, "was the purpose, and the only purpose:" and though it is true that his Majesty in the above letter, did order the charge to be diligently and thoroughly prosecuted against the Earl, yet in a private letter to the Lord Lieutenant by the same dispatch, the King said, "though he had too just cause for the clearing of his honour, to command, as he had done, the prosecuting GLAMORGAN in a legal way, yet he would have the Marquis suspend the execution of any sentence against him, until the King was informed fully of all the proceedings."

If there are any reflections to be made upon these counter orders and declarations, they certainly do not tend to the honour of King CHARLES. He had declared to the Parliament that the Earl had a commission to raise forces in Ireland, and to that purpose only: and here he tells the Council that he had given the Earl another commission to a very different purpose, and which is also "all and the very bottom of what he might possibly have entrusted him with." MR. HUME, I must own, is an artful writer; but it will be too hard for all his sophistry to clear the Monarch of a wilful falsehood, in one or other of these assertions. But this is not the whole. To the Parliament he declared that GLAMORGAN had no commission to treat of any thing else, except raising forces in Ireland without the privity of the Lord Lieutenant; which is the same as saying this was to be so treated of: but in a letter to Lord ORMONDE, he declared "on the word of a Christian, he never intended GLAMORGAN should treat of any thing without his approbation, much less without his knowledge." These assertions are so manifestly contradictory, that it is impossible they should both be true. The last is brought by MR. HUME, as one of his arguments to prove, "that the Earl had injunctions from the King to act altogether in concert with ORMONDE;" a point, which no one hath contradicted

contradicted on the only commission this writer mentions, except the King himself, as we have just now seen. To such miserable shifts are able men reduced, when they write to please a party, or to support a character without regard to truth ! It is but very little that MR. HUME hath said on this critical part of KING CHARLES's reign : but unless he could have said something much more to the purpose than he hath said, he had better have taken the way that Lord CLARENDON did, and have said nothing at all.—But what must put his Majesty's duplicity in this affair beyond all doubt, are two letters from him to the Earl himself, the one three days after the above mentioned to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and the other within a month ; both which are in the Harleian collection of manuscripts in the Museum, from whence I copied them. The first, as it was to pass thro' the hands of the Marquis of ORMONDE and the Lord DIGBY, and to be therefore probably seen by them, is plainly of the ostensible kind, and is as follows ;

CHARLES L  
A. 1646.

GLAMORGAN,

I must clearly tell you, both you and I have been abused in this business ; for you have been drawn to consent to conditions much beyond your instructions, and your treaty hath been divulged to all the world. If you had advised with my Lord Lieutenant, as you promised me, all this had been helped. But we must look forward. Wherefore in a word, I have commanded as much favour to be shewn to you, as may possibly stand with my service or safety : and if you will yet trust my advice—which I have commanded DIGBY to give you freely—I will bring you so off that you may be still useful to me, and I shall be able to recompence you for your affection ; if not, I cannot tell what to say. But I will not doubt your compliance in this, since it so highly concerns the good of all my Crowns, my own particular, and to make me have still means to shew myself

Your most assured Friend

• Oxford Feb. 3,  
1745-6.

CHARLES, R.

The solicitude expressed in this letter shews the distress of the King's mind, lest the ill usage that had been given the Earl should incline him to be refractory, and

**CHARLES I.** perhaps discover the whole secret; for nothing less could surely concern the good of all his Crowns. The other letter was written, when his Majesty knew that the Earl either was, or would be soon at liberty; and was sent by **SR. J. WINTER**, his Lordship's cousin german, a Roman Catholick, a great confident of the Queen's, and one who had been her secretary.

A. 1646.

### HERBERT,

I am confident that this honest trusty bearer will give you good satisfaction why I have not in every thing done as you desired; the want of confidence in you being so far from being the cause thereof, that I am every day more and more confirmed in the trust that I have of you. For believe me, it is not in the power of any to make you suffer in my opinion by ill offices. But of this, and divers other things, I have given **SR. J. WINTER** so full instructions, that I will say no more but that I am

Your most assured constant Friend

Oxford Feb. 28,

1745-6.

**CHARLES, R.**

No future historian surely will be hardy enough, after all this evidence, to charge Lord **GLAMORGAN** with forgery in this transaction, and to lay none of the crime of this treaty at his Majesty's door. Nor will another **SMOLLETT**, it is to be hoped arise, and tell us that "the King was incapable of dissimulation." **MR. CARTE** hath been abominably, and if I had said most scandalously partial in this affair, I should do him no injustice. He reasons from the first commission as tho' it was the last, and he confidently denies the King's giving him any commission at all; though his Majesty himself—as we have seen—owned in his message to the Parliament about him, that he had given him a commission to raise and transport some forces; and in his letter to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, "that he might possibly have given Lord **GLAMORGAN** such a credential, as might give him credit with the Roman Catholicks, in case the Marquis should judge it necessary to manage those matters for their greater confidence apart by the Earl; of whom, in regard of his religion and interest, they might be the less jealous:" and though the King had never

never said any thing of the several blank powers which he had given the Earl—and his not denying them in this case, was owning them—yet CARTE saw them mentioned more than once in the Nuncio's memoirs, as having been produced to him under the real signature of the King. He carps at his assuming the title of Earl of GLAMORGAN, for which he had as yet no patent; and makes it an objection to the authenticity of the commission. But the King, not only in the letters above recited to the Marquis of ORMONDE, and the Council, and to the Earl himself, hath given him that title, but also in the patent under the great seal, and in the declaration which he made to the Parliament on that affair: and though his Majesty thought fit to order Secretary NICHOLAS to acquaint the marquis, that the patent for making Lord HERBERT Earl of Glamorgan had not passed the great seal, yet SANFORD in his genealogical history hath said, "that there now remains in the signet office a bill, under the royal sign manual at Oxford, if a patent did not thereupon pass the great seal, in order to his creation into the honour of Earl of Glamorgan." It is therefore little short of equivocation in the King, to make this declaration; and it would have puzzled his Majesty to have assigned a reason, why he himself gave his Lordship the title of Glamorgan, without he made use of a mean evasion very unbecoming a man of honour, and much more a King. All the artful reasoning which CARTE hath employed, in order to defame the memory of the Earl of GLAMORGAN, or rather to clear that of his Majesty, if it was not overturned by the patent above mentioned given by COLLINS, which hath never been questioned, and to which the King put the great seal with his own hand, yet is undeniably confuted by several passages in the Nuncio's memoirs, and by the letters of the King himself which have been already, and will be hereafter recited. Father LEYBURN, Chaplain to the Queen, hath said in the preface to his memoirs, that both the Nuncio and the titular Bishop of FERNS hath told him, "that no man could doubt but the Earl's commissions were real, all signed with the King's hand and seal, in which he promised to make good upon the word of a King whatsoever he should conclude; and that his Lordship was ready to justify that he had exactly followed his instructions." Many other proofs might be produced, were this a place for them, besides what will necessarily follow, that the

King

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King had given authority to Lord GLAMORGAN, to grant such concessions to the Irish Papists on the article of religion, as his Majesty knew the Lord Lieutenant had too much honour to be concerned in.

When the news of Lord GLAMORGAN's imprisonment reached Kilkenny, where the Supreme Council resided, the Catholics were thrown into a prodigious consternation; and some insisted on their taking arms, and besieging Dublin, in order to release him. The friends of the Marquis of ORMONDE endeavoured to moderate this violence; but they were obliged to consent to the calling of a general assembly, and to proceed to an open rupture if they could find means to support a war. The general Assembly being met, they wrote to the Marquis to press him to the release of Lord GLAMORGAN, as absolutely necessary to the relief of Chester then besieged; for which three thousand men were ready to embark, and nothing wanting but the ships, for which the Earl had contracted, to transport them: but that neither that expedition nor the treaty of peace could go on till he was set at liberty. The treaty was so near concluded with WALSH, before that accident who left Dublin immediately upon it, that the Marquis wrote to Lord MOUNTGARRET, and the other agents, that little time was wanting to the conclusion if he could have been persuaded to a longer stay, and further proceeding in the business; and therefore desired them to come, or send with all speed, to finish the treaty. The Lord Lieutenant and Council, considering the inconvenience to the King's affairs from Lord GLAMORGAN's imprisonment, and that his offence arose from an injudicious zeal—if we may not suppose that he had convinced them of having done nothing beyond his instructions, as he constantly insisted—on the twenty second of January, admitted him to bail on his own security, and the Earl of CLANRICARDE's and KILDARE's, to appear in thirty days notice at the board. As soon as Lord GLAMORGAN was released, he repaired to Kilkenny; in order to expedite the transportation of the three thousand men for the relief of Chester, to procure some money of the Confederates for the supply of the King's army, and to hasten the agents to conclude a peace. In the two first points his Lordship failed of success; in the third he succeeded better; and by the beginning of February, every thing was made ready for the approbation of the General Assembly

But the approbation of that body, through the publishing of Lord GLAMORGAN's articles, through the King's disavowing his authority, and more than all through the intrigues and influence of the Nuncio, was become more difficult to obtain than ever. There was also another remora, which had never been foreseen; arising from some overtures for a treaty with the Pope by the English Catholics. SR. K. DIGBY had been sent to his Holiness by the Queen, as above mentioned, to solicit some assistance for her husband, and to give him hopes of favour to the Catholics of both kingdoms in return. The Pope was so pleased with some proposals from the Catholics in England, that he offered them to DIGBY as the foundation of a treaty to be concluded between Rome and the English Court; and in the mean time presented him with twenty thousand crowns for the Queen. This treaty tended to nothing less, on the article of religion, than putting Ireland on the same footing it was before the reformation, and making it an entire Popish country. The Queen was bigot enough in all conscience to approve of such a treaty, without the conditions mentioned in it of a hundred thousand crowns from Rome, and twelve thousand men from Ireland, for the King's assistance; but with these conditions, and with all her influence over the King, this was too bold a stroke for her to strike. Though DIGBY only took this treaty to lay before the Queen, which she rejected, and the articles were sent to the Nuncio, "to add to them—says PAMPHILIO—or take from them, as need should be," yet he represented them to the General Assembly, as a formed treaty, assented to by the Queen, and stipulated by her Minister.

With this representation the Nuncio prevailed upon the Bishops, whom he took from the Assembly to his house, to sign a protestation in favour of these articles; but to keep them secret till it was necessary to produce them. At the same time, he used all his influence with Lord GLAMORGAN, to pursue no further the peace he had made; but to insist on this new treaty, which he called the Pope's peace, and which would procure greater advantages, he said, to the Catholics, as well as larger supplies to the King. Lord GLAMORGAN was impatient at this delay, and pressed extremely the sending the forces to the King's assistance into England. But finding the Nuncio was not to be diverted from his resolution, and despairing to carry any thing in the Assembly against his consent, he

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**CHARLES I.** he acquiesced in the proposal. He even went so far as to write to the Marquis of ORMONDE, "that the expectation of a more advantageous peace, wrought by the powerful hand of her Majesty, had wiped out the effects of his several endeavours to serve the nation; that if the supplies were expected in England, it was necessary not to disgust the Nuncio, without whose concurrence the King could not be served;" and therefore he advised, that himself, and some more of his excellency's friends, might be employed to treat and settle matters with the Nuncio. The Lord Lieutenant could not comprehend the meaning of what was written about the Queen; and resolving to have nothing to do with the Nuncio, returned for answer "that his Lordship might securely go on in his own ways of serving the King, without fear of interruption from him, or so much as enquiring into the means by which he proposed to work his ends." The Marquis would scarcely have made use of these very extraordinary expressions, in less than six weeks after the Earl was committed to prison, if he had not been satisfied in his own mind, that his authorities from the King were real.

The General Assembly having taken into consideration the articles lately settled with the Lord Lieutenant, and the majority appearing plainly in their favour, the Nuncio came again into the assembly, and made a vehement harangue against them: he pressed very earnestly the Pope's peace, in which he said, there was honour on account of the person, and security as it was managed by a great Prince; and he even affirmed that the original instrument was on the road from Rome by Sir K. DIGBY, whom he expected. It must be observed however that there is nothing in Cardinal PAMPHILIO's letters to him to warrant such an assertion: and Lord DIGBY assured the Marquis of ORMONDE afterwards from Paris, "that so far from entering into any treaty with the Pope about Ireland, notwithstanding what the Nuncio had impudently published at Kilkenny, the Queen would never suffer Sir KNELM to hearken to any thing on that subject; and though she had received some propositions from the Pope, her answer still was, that the business of that kingdom was already in those hands which were best able to manage it." Whether the General Assembly gave entire credit to this intelligence about a treaty with the Pope or not,



not, it is certain that it did not abate the eagerness which the majority had shewed for the peace at Dublin. They acknowledged the King had granted them all their temporal conditions, and in spirituals their libberty of conscience, with every thing that was necessary to the exercise of their religion : and as to pomp and ostentation, they ought to trust to better times, and his Majesty's inclinations towards them, already manifested. It was even intimated by some of them, that they had good reason to believe the Pope himself would approve the treaty ; his Holiness having told their agent in the audience which he granted him, " that it was no wonder if the King thought it unsafe to grant the Irish publicly the conditions they demanded, least it might disoblige his Protestant subjects ; and therefore a connivance ought to content them for the present." Moreover, it is said in the Nuncio's memoirs, " that he had reason to conclude from the boldness with which some of the ORMONDE party talked, that though the King should consent to the Pope's peace, yet the Marquis would refuse to submit to it."

The affair of the peace of Dublin was debated with great warmth for four days ; when Lord GLAMORGAN being afraid that the succours for the King would be too long delayed, made a speech to the Assembly to compose their differences : and having proposed a deputation of some of the principal members to the Nuncio in order to remove mistakes, some deputies were sent, who laboured the point with him for several days ; his Lordship mediating between them, till he had made himself suspected by both parties. To remove the Nuncio's suspicions, his Lordship wrote him a letter ; in which he promised and swore, " that he would obey all the Nuncio's commands without any reluctance, heartily, and with pleasure, that he would be as solicitous for his honour as for his own, and that he would propose nothing but what was proper, nor do any thing contrary to his inclination." But least this should not be sufficient to win the Nuncio, and to procure assistance for the King, in two days after he sent him another letter, with an engagement to ratify the articles between the Pope and the Queen, and that they should be ratified by his Majesty ; provided, that if the original treaty arrived by the first of May, his instrument was to be void, and in the mean time to be kept secret, unless the political peace with the Lord Lieutenant should be published. The Nuncio

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CHARLES I. Nuncio being at last prevailed upon by the entreaties and protestations of Lord GLAMORGAN, a convention was signed between them and the deputies; in which it was stipulated, "that the cessation should be continued till the first of May, at which time, if the Nuncio did not produce the original agreement between the Pope and the Queen signed and sealed, he should ratify whatever was just and proper on the part of the Pope, as the Earl would on the part of the King, that so an honourable and desirable peace might be no longer delayed; that this should not obstruct the treaty with the Lord Lieutenant on the political points, provided there was no conclusion nor publication of the articles, nor any alteration of the civil government, nor any thing done in prejudice of the transaction between the Nuncio and Lord GLAMORGAN; but that both treaties should be concluded and published together." But they were neither of them without their jealousies, that the Marquis of ORMONDE would never yield to what was called the Pope's treaty; and the Earl, in order to take off any suspicion of himself from the mind of the Nuncio, on the day when the convention above was signed, took an oath or protestation, "that he would adhere to the Nuncio's party, not only against the Marquis of ORMONDE, his relations, and favourers, but against all others who should oppose the Pope's treaty, and the Nuncio's measures for the good of the catholic religion, and the King's service." In short the Earl of GLAMORGAN, who to his great vanity and weakness had added an inviolable attachment to the King, made no difficulty in promising vast supplies to the Nuncio, of money, arms, and ammunition, and a fleet over which he should name an admiral; and to fill up some of his blank commissions with creating an Earl, two Viscounts, and three Barons as the Nuncio's nomination.

In two days after the Lord GLAMORGAN had made the protestation above-mentioned, the Nuncio, being satisfied, went to the General Assembly; and exhorting them to go on with their business, pressed the immediate embarkation of the three thousand men for the relief of Chester. To this purpose the Earl repaired directly to Waterford, from whence he wrote a letter to the King; informing him that his Lordship was providing shipping for the immediate transportation of six thousand foot, and four thousand more were by May to follow them;

them ; that what had been the occasion of so long delays, and yet suffered not his Majesty's service therein to proceed with that advantage it might do, he conceived not so fit to commit to paper ; that he hoped his further services intended for the King, would without further crosses be suffered to go on, though strange was the industry used by many seeming friends to hinder him therein ; but he was confident it should not lie in their power, his Majesty remaining still constant." I presume to think that this is not the language of a man, who but two months before was committed to prison for forging authorities from the King, if he had not been conscious that he was innocent of that charge. But the Irish troops intended for the relief of Chester were disappointed of that service, by the surrender of the place to the Parliament after a long siege : and the King's message to the Parliament disavowing Lord GLAMORGAN's authority being brought to Kilkenny, the Catholics were struck with surprise and consternation. His Lordship however, with his usual vanity conceived great hopes of procuring vast assistance for the King, by a journey to France and Rome ; being persuaded that his Majesty had done this unwillingly, and through the violent impulse of others ; and proposing that General PRESTON should march his troops into Munster to compose the commotions there, so that when he returned with the subsidies he might find an army ready. But the Supreme Council were too much affected with the King's message to pay any regard to this proposal.

The Marquis of ORMONDE was all this time expecting the return of the commissioners to put the last hand to the treaty, and wondered at such a delay when so little remained to be settled. It hath been observed that by the convention between the Nuncio and the deputies, it was agreed that no peace should be concluded with the Marquis till the first of May. But when the articles that had been settled with him were laid before the Assembly, they were so much approved that they passed by an unanimous decree, even the Bishops concurring in the vote. Wherefore on March the sixth, they granted a new commission to their former agents, or any four of them, to treat and conclude a peace with the Lord Lieutenant ; against which the Nuncio protested in a letter to the Assembly. He knew nothing then of the King's having disowned the Earl of GLAMORGAN's powers ; but that declaration

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**CHARLES I.** declaration having been communicated to him in a day or two after, he wrote another letter to the Supreme Council containing some wild proposals that were worthy of such a Zealot. But on the twenty-eighth of March, the articles of the peace,—the same in substance which have been already related—were signed and sealed by the Lord Lieutenant on the part of the King, and by Lord **MUSKERY**, and four other agents, in behalf of the Confederates. With these articles there was also signed a conditional obligation or defeazance, importing “that the Irish were to send six thousand foot, well armed and provided, into England, or Wales, by the first of April, and four thousand more by the first of May, to be mustered, viewed, and allowed, by such as the Marquis of **ORMONDE** should appoint; that till the said forces were shipped away, the articles were to be deposited as an escroll in the hands of Lord **CLANRICARDE**, and neither taken to be concluded, perfected, or of force, nor to be published; till the said first of May, nor then, unless upon sending the said forces; and then, and not before, the same should become of effect, be mutually delivered to the respective parties, fully concluded, and perfected, and published with all requisite ceremonies. But in case the said forces were not sent by the times appointed—unless hindered by the blocking up of harbours, contrary winds, or other reasonable cause allowed as such by the Marquis of **ORMONDE**—these articles were to be of no effect, each party be disengaged, as if they had never been agreed upon and signed, and the counterparts thereof to be mutually restored to the respective parties.”

Thus at last, after a treaty of three years, the peace was brought to a conclusion; all affairs of religion submitted to the King, his royal power preserved in other points, and nothing to take effect unless he was assisted at the time and in the manner he required. Hence the reader will no doubt expect to find a quiet settlement of the nation, and the forces of it sent to England to make a powerful effort for his Majesty. But nothing like it. The peace was kept a secret from the Nuncio till the first of May was over; and as soon as he found it out, he wrote to the Supreme Council, that if the political peace was published without the ecclesiastical, or the ecclesiastical without the free and public exercise of their religion, and  
without

without waiting for the treaty from Rome, he would not consent to the peace. He had been positive that this treaty would arrive before the first of May; though he hath furnished no reasons in his memoirs, but his own sanguine credulous temper, for any such expectation: and Dr. BIRCH in his inquiry takes the Nuncio's own word for such a treaty, without the least proof, and in my opinion against very sufficient evidence that no such treaty had ever been entered into. Neither the King, the Queen, Sir K. DIGBY, nor any other person, had in all this time either by word or writing signified to the Pope, to PAMPHILIO, or the Nuncio, that such a treaty would be accepted, or assented to; yet this did not cure the latter of his delusion. He still affected to expect the Pope's peace, and made many conjectures why it was not yet concluded. He sent a protestation to the Supreme Council against that concluded with the Marquis of ORMONDE, signed by two titular archbishops, six bishops, and himself: and as it was then known in Ireland that the King had delivered himself into the hands of the Scots in their army before Newark, on the tenth of June the Nuncio wrote another letter to the Supreme Council; importing that as the King was not master of his own actions, and they could have no authority from him for the security of their religion, so no peace could be made at that time, much less that of which he had heard. The Supreme Council declared in answer to him, that they were compelled by the necessity of their affairs to make a peace, but they should consider the articles of the Earl of GLAMORGAN as ratified: and if it should happen that the peace should be immediately published without at the same time publishing those concessions, they desired the Nuncio to believe that this was necessary, and for the advantage of religion. We shall leave them in these altercations, to look into other affairs in consequence of the peace.

The treaty had been so protracted, and the supplies from Ireland to the King so long delayed, that he had not the face of an army left in England. The Marquis of ORMONDE, not knowing then the King's condition, as soon as the peace was concluded, used his utmost endeavours to avail himself of it for his Majesty's service. He pressed the sending some succours to the Marquis of MONTROSSE in Scotland, and he appointed commissioners to view and muster the forces that were to be sent to England;

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but his endeavours were fruitless. The Supreme Council alledged the difficulties and dangers of an English expedition, being uncertain where to land, assured of no horse to cover or support them, and ignorant of the condition in which the King's affairs then were. Besides this, they wanted transports for the men, which Lord GLAMORGAN had promised them from France, and which were not arrived; and they apprehended it was of greater consequence to his Majesty's service to clear one of his kingdoms, than to attempt to assist him in England under such difficulties and hazards. Wherefore Lord INCHQUIN having seized Bonratty, a castle belonging to Lord THOMOND in the county of Clare, they had sent some of the forces intended for England to recover that place by a siege. They supplied the Marquis of ORMONDE however with three thousand pounds for the relief of his army in and about Dublin; and they furnished Lord DIGBY with three hundred men as a guard for the Prince of Wales; who, upon the reduction of his father's army in the West, was retired to Scilly. His Lordship went himself with these forces, in the hope and expectation of prevailing on the Prince to come to Ireland: and though the Council put about him by the King were incurably averse to that project, yet it was much desired by the well affected Irish, as a thing that would enable them to defeat the Nuncio's measures, and to unite all their party in the King's obedience. I know that Lord CLARENDON—then Sir ED. HYDE, and one of the Prince's Council—hath put reasons in the Prince's mouth against this expedient; which he hath treated as one of Lord DIGBY's visions: but these reasons in my opinion are neither solid, nor satisfactory; and it seems a sufficient vindication of this project, that the Marquis of ORMONDE not only concurred in it, but declared “that upon that depended all his hopes, that this kingdom could then be useful to the Crown of England.”

**RUSHWORT.** The English Parliament had been so much occupied in their war against the King, and in answering his messages and declarations, that they had left Ireland to its fate for above a twelvemonth. But in the beginning of this year, being almost assured that they should get the better of the contest, they turned their thoughts again upon that country; and after a debate about its government, it was voted by the Commons, that a new Governor, should be chosen

chosen every year; that Lord LISLE should be their present Governor, under the title of Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, with a power to command all the forces raised or to be raised, for reducing that kingdom to the obedience of the Parliament in England; that the ordinance for raising a weekly assessment for the maintenance of the forces of Ireland should be continued for six months longer; that no forces should be raised in the province of Ulster, or brought in thither, without their warrant; that no Governor should be placed in Ireland but by the consent of both Houses of Parliament; that the prosecution of the war against the rebels there should be managed by the two Houses; and that all treaties with them, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, should be annulled. In consequence of these resolutions, the same part which Lord INCHQUIN was playing in Munster, by burning, plundering, and destroying the country, even to the gates of Limerick, was acted by Sir C. COOTE in Conaught, with a design, as it was supposed, to relieve Bonratty: but he contented himself with wasting and burning the estates of Lord CLANRICARDE—about this time made a Marquis, for his eminent sufferings, and fidelity—to whose care and activity in the first year of this rebellion, he confessed that he owed his own, and his garrison's preservation.

These outrages had induced the Supreme Council to send Mr. PLUNKET to the Lord Lieutenant, in order to declare the necessity of a present union in the nation; but to shew him that if the publication of the articles of the peace should be thought necessary for this purpose, that they could not avoid publishing those with Lord GLAMORGAN, for fear of a rupture among themselves, and of losing their foreign friends. Should his excellency be of opinion, that it was not proper to publish the articles at present, he was desired to join his forces immediately with theirs, and to declare against the common enemy. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE, incensed at the injuries that had been done him, called likewise upon the Lord Lieutenant and the State, in the King's behalf, and for the sake of justice, that Sir C. COOTE and his adherents should immediately be proclaimed rebels and traitors. But this was an affair attended with so many difficulties, as the Lord Lieutenant thought required too much consideration to be instantly determined; especially as he had just then received the news of the King's delivering him-

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**CHARLES I.** self up to the Scots. The Marquis waved therefore giving an answer to Mr. **PLUNKET**; and in a few days after sent Sir **G. HAMILTON** and Colonel **BARRY** to Limerick, where the Supreme Council sate, to acquaint them that he understood the necessity of an union, though he could not join with any party not deriving authority from the King; but in whatever condition his Majesty was, or should be, his Lordship would readily make use of the assistance of such of his subjects, as would endeavour to maintain his authority, and preserve the kingdom for him; that it was not fit to say more to this proposition, nor could any thing further be done towards an union till the articles of peace were published, about which he had not yet received his Majesty's pleasure; that they had not performed the conditions agreed upon at signing the articles, neither in respect of the forces to be sent to England, which they alledged to be impossible, nor to the money which they were to advance, and was doubtless in their power, for want of which very dangerous inconveniences were brought on the King's affairs: In relation to Lord **GLAMORGAN**'s articles, the Lord Lieutenant could not admit of them, consistently with his own honour, or the duty which he owed the King; for which reasons he expected their resolution not to publish them. To these instructions the Marquis added a declaration, that if they did not determine a speedy publication of the peace, and to send the money which remained unpaid, the condition of his Majesty's affairs at Dublin was such, as he should very soon be under a necessity to seek some other way of recovering the King's rights, and of preserving his authority in that kingdom.

The Earl of **GLAMORGAN** was all this while busied in forming projects, though without any effect, for the King's service; of which his Majesty was so sensible, that just before he left Oxford, he wrote his Lordship the two following letters.

Oxford 5th April 1646.

**GLAMORGAN,**

I have no time, nor do you expect, that I shall make unnecessary repetitions to you. Wherefore referring you to **DIGBY** for business, this is only to give you assurance of my constant friendship to you; which considering the general defection of common honesty, is in a sort requisite.



quisite. Howbeit, I know you cannot but be confident CHARLES I.  
of my making good all instructions and promises to you A. 1646.  
and the Nuncio.

Your most assured constant friend,

C H A R L E S, R.

The last words "my making good, &c." are written in a cypher; which with the alphabetical key, all in the King's own hand, signed C. R. and sealed with his seal, is extant in the collection of Harleian Manuscripts in the Museum; and was probably sent in another letter dated the day after, which is here inserted likewise from the original in that collection.

H E R B E R T,

As I doubt not but you have too much courage to be dismayed or discouraged at the usage you have had, so I assure you that my estimation of you is nothing diminished by it, but rather begets in me a desire of revenge and reparation to us both; for in this I hold myself equally interested with you. Wherefore not doubting of your accustomed care and industry in my service, I assure you of the continuance of my favour and protection to you, and that in deeds more than in words I shall shew myself to be

Your most assured constant friend,

Oxford 6th April  
1646.

C H A R L E S, R.

These letters are not only another proof of the King's insincerity in disavowing some of the powers he had given Lord GLAMORGAN to negotiate for him with the Irish, but they also shew that he still continued to employ the Earl with the strongest expressions of confidence and favour; that he kept a secret correspondence with him unknown to the Lord Lieutenant; and that he was privy to his Lordship's transactions with the Nuncio in his name: And it is very observable that Lord DIGBY; who had charged him in so vehement a manner with a suspicion of high treason, wrote word at this time to the Marquis of ORMONDE from Waterford, "that he had met there with Lord GLAMORGAN, whom he found, as he had reason, a very sad man, and withal highly incensed by

CHARLES I. some about him against himself. But for this latter part, says he, I believe his good nature and the reasons which I have given him, have well settled him in a good measure of kindness."

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When the committee of the Supreme Council at Limerick had received the Lord Lieutenant's spirited answer above recited, they sent an excuse to him for the failures which he had charged upon them, protested that they were willing to perform their engagements, resolved to omit the publication of Lord GLAMORGAN's articles, and expressed a great desire that the articles of the peace should be published as they were already settled. But before the Marquis, who had heard nothing from the King, could determine upon it, a sudden turn in their affairs made them more cool and indifferent about the peace. O NEIL having been with the Nuncio in the spring and received some supplies for his army, at the latter end of May, assembled a body of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, with which he advanced towards Ard-magh. MONROE having drawn out above six thousand to oppose him, and having received intelligence that the enemies design was to possess themselves of that city, he caused his army to march thither, with hopes of finding O NEIL there and surprising him in his quarters. But the Irish were encamped at Benburb seven miles further, strongly posted between two hills; having a wood behind them, and the Blackwater, which was thought difficult to be passed, on their right. But MONROE finding a ford in the river, unexpectedly passed over, and advanced to meet the Irish. O NEIL amused them with little skirmishes for four hours till he had got the sun on his back, and till a detachment which he had sent off in the morning had returned. The Scots, who had stood all that time in order of battle without advancing, being much surprised to see such a body join the Irish, began to make their retreat. O NEIL then attacked them in earnest; and having ordered his men not to fire till they were within a pike's length of the enemy they did incredible execution. The English regiment commanded by Lord BLANEY maintained their ground, till he, and most of his men were cut to pieces; and the Scotch horse being pushed, and falling in disorder upon the foot, a general rout ensued. Above three thousand were slain on the field of battle, with inconsiderable loss on the side of the Irish; who took the Scotch artillery, most of their arms, colours,

colours, tents, and baggage, fifteen hundred draught CHARLES I.  
 horses, and two months provision. MONROE himself A. 1646.  
 fled without his hat and coat to Lisburn, and ordered the  
 whole country to rise, which caused a general consternation.  
 His ammunition was blown up, when the battle  
 was lost, either by accident or design; and the counties  
 of Down and Antrim must have been ruined, if the Nuncio,  
 as soon as he heard of the victory, had not sent an express  
 to desire O NEIL to march to him with his army.  
 in order to oppose the peace: but the Nuncio was obeyed,  
 and the country saved.

When the Marquis of ORMONDE was considering of  
 the proposal of the Supreme Council to publish the  
 peace, he received an order from the King,—not as  
 LUDLOW says, with his usual inaccuracy, to lay down  
 his arms—but to proceed no further in treaty with the  
 Irish rebels, nor to engage his Majesty upon conditions  
 with them after sight of that order. An order so explicit,  
 though it did not supersede what was already done, yet  
 seemed directly to inhibit the publication of the peace.  
 Every thing therefore was at a stand; and the Irish commissioners  
 returned to Limerick for fresh instructions: and  
 notwithstanding the Marquis was convinced that the King  
 was still desirous of a peace, yet it was difficult to persuade  
 his Council of that truth against this express declaration;  
 and without their concurrence he could not proclaim it,  
 nor would it be of any effect if he did. Whilst the  
 Marquis of ORMONDE was labouring under this difficulty,  
 Lord DIGBY arrived from France, with an account  
 that the Scots had broken all their engagements to the King.  
 He said his Majesty had with much skill and difficulty  
 found the secret means of sending word to Paris, that he  
 could no more express his mind in any way but what the  
 Scots should force from him, and that they were to understand  
 that as the last free direction; and therefore that the Queen,  
 the Prince, and all his faithful Ministers to whom it was to be  
 imparted, should in all things steadily pursue those orders  
 which he had given before the time of his unfree condition.”  
 The Marquis of ORMONDE was particularly required “to give  
 no interruption to any thing which he was pursuing for the  
 King’s service; unless he was assured, under his Majesty’s  
 own hand in cypher, that it was his own free direction.”  
 Upon this intelligence from Lord DIGBY, and on receiving an  
 assurance from the Prince of Wales, that

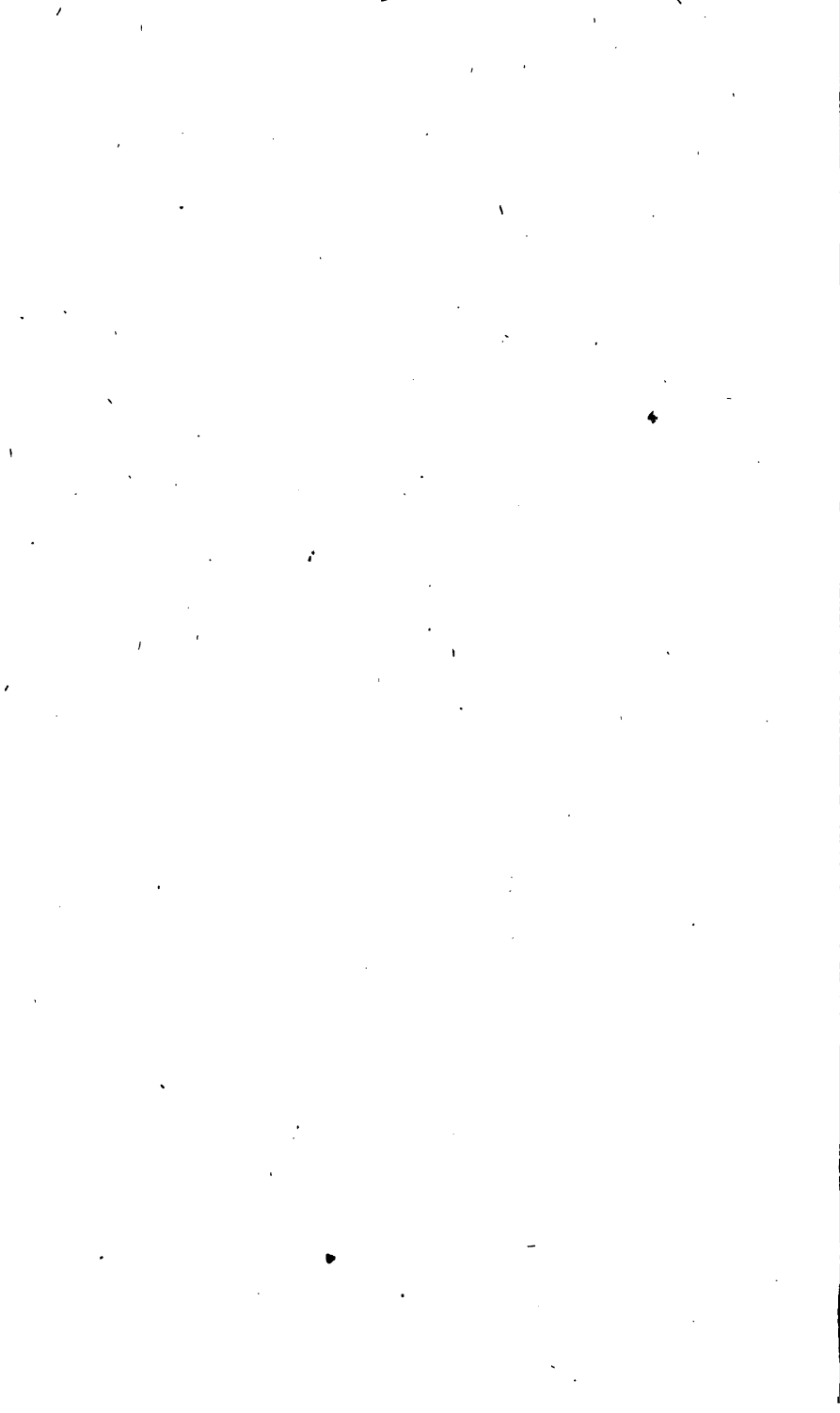
**CHARLES I.** if any accident should happen to hinder the King's confirmation of the peace which had been concluded in Ireland, the Prince would adhere to him in it with constancy and affection, the Marquis called a Council. At this meeting Lord DIGBY repeated his intelligence; and for their further satisfaction drew up and signed a declaration in the council-book, "that the King's letter, forbidding any further proceedings in the Irish treaty, was surreptitious, or forced from his Majesty, and contrary to what he knew to be the King's pleasure and resolution; that he would freely take the whole of this matter upon himself, to answer to his Majesty, as Secretary of State, with his life for this declaration." On the next day the Lord Lieutenant signed another declaration, "that he was satisfied he had full authority and command from his Majesty to conclude the peace on the articles deposited with Lord CLANRICARDE, and took upon himself the sole judging thereof; expecting only the assistance of the Council in causing it to be published and observed." These two declarations being thought sufficient, on the twenty ninth of July, the articles were interchangeably delivered by the respective parties; and the Council joined in a proclamation ratifying and confirming the articles of peace, and enjoining all persons to observe and pay due obedience to it. This event, which is called the "Peace of Forty six," having made a great alteration in the affairs which are the subject of this history, very naturally puts a period to this book.

But before I close it, I shall observe, that if the Nobility and Gentry of the Irish Catholicks had not been infatuated with a blind zeal for their religion, they would not have delayed this peace, through the influence of the Nuncio and their Clergy, after such concessions had been granted for the security of every thing that was valuable, till the King was ruined, and they must lose all they had: and if their Clergy had not been given up to a strong delusion, they must have seen that they had no chance for power and splendour but by keeping up the King; that if he sunk under the Parliament they were undone; or if he agreed with them—which was the thing to be expected—it would be impossible for the Irish to hold out, or to hope for the least degree of mercy. But the obstinate bigotry of the Ecclesiasticks made them determined either to carry their point, or perish; and they had such a dominion over the consciences and understandings

understandings of their votaries, as that nothing could withstand their power. The world however now is a little more enlightened; and Popery, in the present age, hath in a great measure lost its hold on the minds of men in this respect, except with the ignorant vulgar, even in countries that are Catholic; for the absurdity of resigning up their interests and their reason to their Priests—for which there is no foundation in scripture, or common sense—is now pretty well understood. This give us reason to hope—and to their honour it must be said, that the experience of our times confirms it—that none of the Irish Catholicks who have any thing to lose will tread in the steps of their fore fathers; but live quietly under a government which tolerates the exercise of their, religion and which can never be overturned without a general wreck,

CHARLES I.  
A. 1646.

T H E





THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION and CIVIL-WAR  
IN  
IRELAND.

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BOOK VI.

**T**HOUGH the peace which had been concluded CHARLES I.  
A. 1646.  
CARTE.  
BORLASE.  
CLAREND.  
CASTLEHA.  
COX.  
Inquiry,  
Nuncio's M. was necessary to all parties, and was submitted to with great alacrity by every one who owned the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, yet it met with great opposition from the generality of the Irish. The Nuncio, ever since his coming into the island, had professed in public a great regard to the King's interest, at the same time that he wrote his opinion to Cardinal PAMPHILIO—as it appears from his memoirs—"that the King's destruction would be of most advantage to the Irish, and his wishes that the Parliament might get the better of him, and make themselves masters of England." No wonder therefore that he should press the Irish, to decline all measures with the Lord Lieutenant, and not to think of any peace till they had made an union among all the Catholics, and the King was restored to his power: no wonder that he should advise them, to put themselves under the protection of a foreign power, and should recommend the Pope to be their Protector.

**CHARLES I.** Protector. In short it is no wonder, that a weak and furious bigot, fiery and haughty in his temper, without any connections in the country, and without any knowledge of its strength or weakness, should pay no regard to the interest or the welfare of its inhabitants, and should involve them in the most violent and destructive measures. He had all imaginable influence over the whole Catholic Clergy, except a few old Bishops, and some Regulars who were not subordinate to his authority: and the Clergy united under such a head were a very powerful body; their dominion over the ignorant superstitious, multitude, from which the common soldiers of their armies were drawn, being little less than absolute. It appears indeed from what follows, that all the Catholics of that kingdom, except very few, were priest-ridden; and to the slavish submission which they paid to their Ecclesiasticks, their own entire ruin, if not that of the King, was owing.

A. 1646.

It hath already been observed, that the Nuncio had sent for O'NEIL's army to assist him in opposing the peace when it should be published; as knowing that whatsoever noise he should make about it, he could not prevent its taking effect without an army to support him: and suspecting that PRESTON, the Leinster General, would execute the orders of the Supreme Council. In that suspicion he was not mistaken; for the peace was proclaimed in PRESTON's camp. O'NEIL's army was made up principally of Creaghts; a tartar like people, who not being able to subsist in their own Country, through the waste that had been made in it, roved up and down with their cattle without any settled abode, harassing the people, friends and foes alike. These were the forces fittest for the purposes of the Nuncio: they had nothing to get or save by the peace; they had a prospect of thriving by the ravages of war; and by a proper application of the money and succours which the Nuncio brought over, and a promise of much more, they engaged themselves to support him. He did not trust however entirely to them. For though as soon as it was known that the peace was made, he sent O'NEIL four thousand pounds and a supply of powder, yet having an army of Clergy also at his command, in the beginning of August, he called a synod at Waterford. Ten Bishops, and several inferior Ecclesiasticks entirely devoted to him, accordingly met: but instead of employing themselves in spiritual



spiritual affairs, they spent all their time in debating measures and making decrees not at all becoming their character. They decreed all those who adhered to the peace, to have broken the oath of association, and to have been guilty of perjury: they excommunicated the Commissioners, and all who had been instrumental in bringing about the peace: they interdicted all the churches, and forbade divine service to be celebrated in any cities and towns which should admit it: in short they suspended all the Clergy, seculars and regulars, who preached or spoke in favour of it, from the exercise of their function, together with all the confessors, who should absolve the instruments or the favourers of the peace. But all this did not content them. Lest the Supreme Council should find some means of maintaining the peace they had made, and seemed determined to support, they denounced an excommunication against all those who should receive or pay any money, or assessment by their orders, and against all the soldiers that should attempt to execute them by force: and to tie their own party by a still firmer union, a new oath of association was drawn up; whereby they engaged "not to adhere to any peace, but to such as should be honourable in the view of the world, secure to their conscience according to the oath of association, and so approved by the congregation of the Clergy of Ireland."

CHARLES I.

A. 1646.

These violent measures dictated by the Nuncio, and adopted by the Ecclesiasticks devoted to him, were not more opposite to their characters as the ministers of peace, and to their own acts and determinations, than they were to the instructions which the Nuncio had from Rome. His orders were very explicit, in case a peace were made, to do nothing either by word or deed to shew that he approved of, or disliked it: and notwithstanding the authority which he had assumed, and the promises and threats and other artifices which he had used, to make the body of Papists subservient to his views, yet he represents himself to the Pope, as merely passive in the affair, as not leading the Ecclesiasticks, and acquiescing only in their determinations. The success of his measures in opposing the peace, made his excuse for the violence of them easily pass at Rome: but in another point he met with some difficulty. He had exhorted the Council at Kilkenny in a speech, of which he had given them a copy, to be faithful to GOD and religion, and then to the King. Having transmitted

**CHARLES I.** transmitted another copy to Rome, Cardinal PAMPHILIO was ordered to reprimand him for exhorting them to be faithful to an heretical Prince, to direct him to get back the copy of his speech, and never to indulge such a way of talking in publick conferences. His Eminence told him that that See would never approve, by any positive act, the civil allegiance which any Catholic subjects pay to an heretical Prince. This reprimand however had not restrained the Nuncio, in his furious zeal against the peace, from signing the protestation made against it in the synod above mentioned; wherein it was declared, that no peace should be accepted without secure conditions for religion, King, and country. It will be out of the order of time, but it is scarcely material enough to reserve it for its proper place, and therefore the reader shall now be told, that this drew another reprimand upon him from Rome; in which the Cardinal again informed him, that it had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of that See, never to allow her Ministers to make, or consent to publick edicts of Catholic subjects, for the defence of the crown and person of an heretical Prince: he adds, that as the Pope knew how difficult it was in public assemblies, to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by Catholics to the King, so he would be satisfied if the Nuncio did not shew by any public act, that he either knew, or consented to such public professions of allegiance, as for political considerations the Catholics were either forced or willing to make. If the reader makes a proper reflection upon these declarations from the Cardinal, they must convince him that there can be no dependance on the allegiance of a Papist to a Prince of another communion, if the State of Rome requires it to be broken, and if the Papist will act up to his principles. But the Papists are men; and their interest in a Protestant country being opposite to their principles of religion, it may be supposed that they will commonly act like the generality of men in this age, and, where interest and principle interfere, that the first will get the better.

The decrees of the synod above mentioned were no sooner published, which they were with great diligence throughout the kingdom than their effect upon the people was very visible. The Council at Kilkenny drew up an appeal from those censures: but they neither exhibited

bited it to the synod in form, nor published it to the world. Whether their judgment failed them on this occasion, or whether through the want of money, through the bigotry and disobedience of the soldiers, or through the terror which the magistrates were under from the Clergy, they really were not able to exert themselves vigorously against those who opposed the peace, one cannot say: but it is certain that they made no attempt to shew a resolution that it should be obeyed. Instead of crushing an opposition to it in the bud, they allowed it time to gather strength. They sent deputies indeed to Waterford to court the Clergy to an accommodation; which not only possessed the Clergy themselves with a high notion of their power, but the people were induced by it to stand in awe of a body of men, to which the Supreme Council themselves paid so much submission as to justify their conduct to them. One of the consequences of this tameness in the Supreme Council was, that the King at Arms could not proclaim the peace at Waterford, and Clonmell: and when he came to Limerick, and was attended by the Mayor and Corporation in their formalities, a mob was prepared to oppose it; the Mayor and King at arms were wounded in several places, and narrowly escaped being killed; the Mayor and some of the Aldermen were turned out; the Corporation was new modelled by the Clergy in the city, creatures of the Nuncio, and the ringleader of the insurrection was made mayor, as his reward. Another consequence of the want of spirit in the Supreme Council was, that it produced a set of insolent propositions from the Nuncio and the Synod; the chief end of which was to prevent a peace till the pleasure of the Pope was further known. To these propositions the Supreme Council returned no answer; but sent to desire the Clergy would recall their excommunication. To this petition the Clergy in their turn refused to make any reply, till they should receive an answer to their propositions. The Supreme Council finding there were no hopes of an accommodation with the Nuncio, and that he would put all their affairs into confusion, sent to desire the Lord Lieutenant would repair directly to Kilkenny and give them his assistance.

They saw very little reason to depend on their own party, or on the obedience of the officers and the soldiers of their army. O NEIL had long ago slighted their orders; and being disgusted at their neglect of him in their choice  
of

**CHARLES I.** of Generals upon the peace, it was probable that he, and the Ulster Irish, would adhere to the Nuncio. The Marquis of ORMONDE had sent his nephew **DAN. O NEIL** to persuade him into the King's service, and to support the peace with very advantageous offers: but he had engaged himself to the Nuncio, and rejected them. The inclinations of **PRESTON** had been tried on all sides; and his answers to them all were so ambiguous, that none of them thought they could be assured of him. At the end of August, the Lord Lieutenant, accompanied with the Marquis of **CLANRICARDE** and Lord **DIGBY**, marched from Dublin with fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse; and when he arrived at Kilkenny, he was received with all imaginable joy and respect. As he passed by Naas, he borrowed eight barrels of powder of **Sr. J. SHERLOCK** the Governour. He left his foot near Gowran, under the command of **Sr. F. WILLOUGHBY** who kept a very strict guard; but the horse he took with him to Kilkenny, not suspecting any treachery. Making several excursions into the country, in order to conciliate the affections of the people to a peace, and to stop the disorders occasioned by the violent proceedings of the Nuncio, the Mayor of Cashell informed him by a letter, that the town was threatened with destruction if they admitted him, and that **O NEIL** was marching that way with all his army. Other letters, one particularly from **D. O NEIL**, assured him that a rendezvous was appointed in the county of Cavan; Whither all the regiments of **O NEIL's** army were on their march from their respective quarters, with fifteen days provision. The Council also at Dublin, amongst other intelligence of this sort, informed the Marquis, that though the General himself was very reserved, and his officers declared that they did not know what he designed, yet his Priests had given out that he intended to march to Kilkenny; and if his Excellency would not admit of **GLAMORGAN's** peace, they would treat him in a manner too scandalous to be mentioned, and prevent his return to Dublin.

So many advices on the back of one another concurring to the same effect, unwilling as the Marquis was to suspect the Irish could be guilty of so much perfidy, made him apprehensive of a treacherous design against him. Full of irresolution however what course to take, Lord **CASTLEHAVEN** fixed him with an account of the imminent danger he was in; as both the armies of **PRESTON** and

and O'NEIL were on the march to cut off his retreat. He told the Marquis that not a moment was to be lost, but that he should instantly march to Leighlin bridge; and having there passed the Barrow, and gotten that river between him and the enemy endeavour by long marches to reach Dublin. No time was left now for reproaches or dispute; and leaving Lord DIGBY to carry on the negotiation at Kilkenny, and sending orders to SR. F. WILLOUGHBY to march off with the foot as fast as possible to the bridge of Leighlin, the Marquis joined his horse at Callan: but the Irish plundered his waggons at Kilkenny of all the plate, linen, clothes, and every thing which they contained; his haste not permitting him to secure them. When his forces came into their own quarters, some of the soldiers clearing their muskets, the powder made no report, and on several trials it was found to be stark naught. The clerk of the stores being examined about it, said it was the powder brought from Dublin, and furnished by the rebels in lieu of its value in money; as part of the thirty thousand pounds which by the articles of cessation they were to pay to the King. The Major General ordered it to be returned into the barrels, and the men to be furnished with that which had been borrowed of SR. J. SHERLOCK; which was found to be very good. The Lord Lieutenant overtook the foot in their march; and when they arrived at Dublin, whither intelligence had been brought that they were all cut off, they were received with the greatest joy; the whole people of the city almost coming out to meet them. Besides receiving some of his rents, which was of great use to him to support his forces, and to make some provision for the defence of Dublin, the Marquis reaped no other fruit from this expedition, than to be convinced of the treachery of the Irish; of the vanity of trusting to the assistance of the confederates; and of the necessity of applying for it somewhere else. He had a little before employed Lord CASTLEHAVEN to try to persuade the Nuncio not to oppose the peace: but all his Lordship could do, he says, was in vain; "the Nuncio declaring his resolution to oppose it to the utmost, with other expressions relating to blood not becoming a Churchman."

Lord DIGBY being left behind at Kilkenny, and knowing how ill the Marquis of ORMONDE was provided for any defence, so, that he might prevent the King's interest from being intirely destroyed in Ireland, he ventured to make

**CHARLES I.** an offer, that if the Nuncio and some of his Prelates would give it under their hands that they would not oppose the peace, and would join under the Lord Lieutenant against the Republicans, they should have a private but authentic assurance, as a collateral security severed from the articles—to which Lord ORMONDE's commission being determined he could not add—that the penal laws should be repealed, and that their Clergy should not be put out of their ecclesiastical possessions before a new Parliament was called. But this did not satisfy. They not only insisted on all the articles agreed to by Lord GLAMORGAN, but on some of those also contained in the Pope's peace, as the Nuncio called it; neither of which could be granted. The Catholics indeed were so infatuated with a blind zeal for their religion, and with an absolute submission to their Ecclesiasticks, that when the Nuncio made his entry into Kilkenny, in a few days after they had driven the Lord Lieutenant from it, he was received with all the pomp of a triumph; and an entire command in all affairs secular and ecclesiastical was committed to him. The vanity of this man was to be equalled by nothing but his insolence. He had now the two armies of O'NEIL and PRESTON at his devotion, and both in the Neighbourhood of Kilkenny: and the first thing he did in concert with these Generals was to imprison the Supreme Council, and other leading men of the Confederates within their reach, who had been zealous for the peace. His next step was to issue out an excommunication against all such as should defend or approve the justice of the late peace; which in a manner comprehended all the Nobility and Gentry of the nation, and even many of the most learned and pious Catholic Clergy. Notwithstanding the infinite scandal of this proceeding to the faith and honour of the nation, and to their religion itself, yet it had such an effect upon the minds of the people in general, in spite of the utmost efforts of the principal persons, as is at this day scarcely credible.

The Nuncio and his Prelates, intoxicated with the power which through an invincible delusion they were possessed of, appointed a new Council, of which his Grace was president; consisting of four Bishops, and eight Laymen, to which the General officers were to be subject, and which were to have the same authority as the late Supreme Council had been invested with. The

Nuncio's

Nuncio's vanity was so flattered by this event, that in a letter to the Pope, which is in his own memoirs, he says, "this age hath never seen so unexpected and wonderful a change; and if I was writing not a relation, but an history to your Holiness, I should compare it to the most famous successes in Europe. The Clergy of Ireland, so much despised by the Ormondists, were in the twinkling of an eye masters of the kingdom. Soldiers, Officers, and Generals, strove who should fight for the Clergy; and at last the Supreme Council being deprived of all authority, and confounded with amazement to see obedience denied to their orders, the power of the Confederates was devolved upon the Clergy." But elated as he was with his power, the Nuncio did not forget his great friend the Earl of GLAMORGAN; to whose violent bigotry in a great measure he owed his influence. He made the Earl General of Munster, in the room of Lord MUSKERY whom he had confined; and the Assembly of the province confirmed his nomination. But this was only an earnest of the favours he intended to shew him; having promised to make him Lord Lieutenant, if the Marquis of ORMONDE was drove from Dublin: and his Lordship well deserved these great things at the hands of the Nuncio. For, a short time before the Earl had taken a sort of oath of allegiance to him; in which he swore to do nothing of any moment without the consent and approbation of the Nuncio; that if by chance he should do any thing that was disliked, he would upon the first signification correct his error; and that he would resign the Lieutenancy whenever the Nuncio should require it, and in all things would be obedient to the Holy See. The Earl however did not deserve the favour of the Nuncio on his own account only, but also for the trust and confidence which was put in him by the King; who still kept up a secret correspondence with him, as appears by the following letter in the Nuncio's memoirs; a copy of which, it seems, was published in an Italian Mercury of that time, by VITTORIO SIRI.

### GLAMORGAN,

I am not so strictly guarded but that if you send to me a prudent and secret person I can receive a letter, and you may signify to me your mind; I having always loved your person and conversation, which I ardently wish for at present more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice

CHARLES I. judice to you, whose safety is as dear to me as my own.  
 A. 1646. If you can raise a large sum of money by pawning my kingdoms for that purpose, I am content you should do it, and if I recover them I will fully repay that money : and tell the Nuncio, that if once I can come into his and your hands, which ought extremely to be wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it : and if I do not say this from my heart, or if in any future time I fail you in this, may GOD never restore me to my kingdoms in this world nor give me eternal happiness in the next ; to which I hope this tribulation will conduct me at last, after I have satisfied my obligations to my friends ; to none of whom I am so much obliged as to yourself, whose merits towards me exceed all expressions that can be used by

Your constant Friend

Newcastle, July 20,  
 1646.

CHARLES, R.

Of this extraordinary letter, which Mr. CARTE must have seen in the Nuncio's memoirs, he takes not the least notice, and no wonder : for it is itself enough to confute his assertion that the commissions produced by Lord GLAMORGAN were forgeries. I have said that he must have seen this letter, because he hath quoted the page before, and the page after it, in the Nuncio's memoirs. In answer to this letter, Lord GLAMORGAN drew up a paper with the assistance of the Nuncio, inviting his Majesty into Ireland ; in which the objections to that measure, and the answers to them, are set down. There is nothing particular enough in either to entertain the reader ; and in conclusion his Lordship tells the King, that his duty and affection to him were such, as that he could not but regard his Majesty's safety, without calling to mind past injuries, or considering the dangers he had undergone, or the money he had expended ; since he did not think that what he had suffered arose from his Majesty, or was willingly permitted by him. The King, it is well known, was very soon too closely guarded to make his escape into Ireland, to the Earl or to the Nuncio ; and so that correspondence was at an end. We must now return to the history.



As soon as the Lord Lieutenant returned to Dublin, the best endeavours were used to put the place into a posture of defence: the townsmen were formed into companies; and to give encouragement to the common people, the Marchioness of ORMONDE, and other ladies of the first quality in the city, carried baskets of earth for repairing the fortifications. But if the place had been ever so tenable against an attack, it could not hold out for want of provisions: the soldiers were in want of all things necessary for defence; nor was there more than fourteen barrels of powder in the magazine; and yet as their distresses, so their danger was increasing every hour. When O NEIL found himself disappointed in his design of cutting off the Marquis in his retreat, he marched his army into the Queen's county and committed all acts of cruelty and outrage that can be imagined; putting all those who resisted to the sword. The Nuncio and PRESTON having joined him at Athy, the former, as Generalissimo, led the two armies towards Dublin. The Marquis in this extremity consulted with Lord CASTLEHAVEN, who had stuck firmly to him ever since the peace; and who advised, in order to prevent their coming too near, to destroy the quarters; his forces not being sufficient to oppose them in the field. Lord ORMONDE, himself was of the same opinion; and therefore orders were sent immediately to all people within eight miles of the town, to bring in whatever they had; and whatever could not be brought in within three days, particularly forage and mills, several parties were sent to burn and to destroy. The army however marched notwithstanding; PRESTON and O NEIL fixing their head quarters within six miles of Dublin, and three from one another; and the Nuncio and his Council remaining at Sigginstown, about six miles further.

In a situation of so much distress as this, what had the Lord Lieutenant to do, without men, without money, without provisions, and without the hopes of either, but to seek the readiest help that he could obtain? No choice was left to him in this extremity, but to put himself into the hands of the Irish, or the English and Scots under the Parliament. He had just had too recent a proof of the treachery and breach of faith of the former, to think of placing any confidence in them: and to prevent their shaking off the government of the Crown of England, putting the nation under a foreign power, and extirpating

**CHARLES.** the Protestant religion, which had been the sole object of the war, he was under a necessity of applying to the Parliament of England for relief. Some of their ships were then riding in the bay of Dublin; the commanders of which he desired to transport some commissioners which he was sending to England to treat about the surrender of that city, and the other garrisons under his command—which they readily undertook—and in the mean time, that he might preserve it from falling into the hands of the Irish rebels, to furnish him with thirty barrels of powder. This request was also instantly complied with: and this application was sufficient of itself, if the zeal of the Irish had not consumed every grain of sense among them, to convince them that if they continued to push the Lord Lieutenant to extremities, he had a resource to deliver himself, and to put Dublin and the other places under a power, both able and willing to take revenge of them for their treachery. But the awe in which the people stood of their Ecclesiasticks permitted them to see nothing but the terrors of excommunication for their disobedience: the Ecclesiasticks saw nothing but thro' the eye of interest; and the Nuncio, who cared for nothing but the supreme command of the nation, would hear no proposals that were likely to diminish it. He had set his heart upon taking Dublin from the Marquis of ORMONDE with an army under his own command: and yet his passion, and want of judgment, had broken that army into jealousies and discontent with him, which was before but too ready to quarrel among themselves. He had made a very foolish and unnecessary distinction between the two Generals, both in his confidence and the supply which he gave their forces; which, of all things in the world he should have avoided: and the Leinster Gentry were so provoked at the insolence of O NEIL, and the depredations which he had committed in their country, that they flocked to PRESTON, the General of the province, in such numbers, as soon made him equal if not superior in forces to O NEIL.

Lord DIGBY seeing the extremity to which the Marquis of ORMONDE had been reduced, and suspecting the Parliament might not yield to the terms which his Excellency had sent over, resolved to go to France; either to endeavour to procure supplies for carrying on the war, or a declaration from that Court which should oblige the Irish to drop their opposition to the peace which had been concluded,

concluded. Whilst he was applying for a pass to this purpose, he discovered the animosity between the officers of the Leinster and Ulster armies: and as he knew of the hatred between the Generals, he from thence formed a project to separate Preston from the Nuncio, and to divert him from the siege of Dublin then preparing for. In answer to this proposal, that General sent him word, that if he might have any reasonable assurance for the security of religion, he would obey the Marquis of ORMONDE entirely, and join all his forces against O NEIL. PRESTON was well enough affected to the peace of his country, and the service of the Crown: but he was such a bigot in his religion, and so irresolute in his temper, that the Marquis could not confide in him: nor had he any power to do more on the point proposed than he had already done. At the same time Lord TAFFE was trying what he could do with the Lord Lieutenant, in order to get him to relax a little on the article of religion, and by that means preserve the city of Dublin. But his Excellency was so justly filled with indignation at their infamous and perfidious treatment of him, that if it had not been to preserve some of his friends, he would never have condescended to hear another word from them; and as it was, he would never be forced from the grounds he had laid to himself.

These schemes proving abortive through the steadiness of the Lord Lieutenant, they were determined to attempt the siege of Dublin. At the latter end of October, Sir F. WILLOUGHBY, and the other commissioners whom his Excellency had sent to the Parliament, arrived from England. They had instructions to require an immediate supply of three thousand foot and five hundred horse; and that all the Protestants, and others who had adhered to them from the first day of the insurrection, all such as had been detained by force in the rebels quarters but had never joined them, and even all such of the rebels as the Lord Lieutenant and Council, with the consent of the English Parliament, might accept as adherents to the King's Protestant subjects, should be preserved in their persons and estates. On these conditions, the Marquis of ORMONDE undertook to prosecute the war against the rebels; and that none of the forces under him already there, or to be sent thither, should be employed, nor any treaty of peace or cessation with the Irish be entered into or concluded, but by express direction

**CHARLES I.** rection of the English Parliament. They were instructed moreover to insist, that the Covenant should not be imposed, nor the Common Prayer suppressed at present; and nothing done in relation to either but by act of Parliament; and though they were to represent that the Lord Lieutenant and the Council and Officers already employed, would be more serviceable than others, yet in case this overture should be rejected, and their continuance should be the only impediment to a relief, the commissioners were authorized to offer a resignation of their patents and commissions—with his Majesty's consent and direction—provided they were secured in their persons and estates, indemnified from all public engagements, repaid their disbursements for the publick, protected for six months from private debts, and allowed to transport themselves and their effects whither they pleased. The Parliament appeared ready to enter into the treaty; ordered two thousand foot, and two hundred horse to be sent immediately from Chester as a present relief; and as they would not consent to continue the Marquis of ORMONDE, and those who adhered to him in the Government, they gave a commission to four of their members to go over, and to treat with him for the surrender of the sword, and of the garrisons under him.

In the mean time the Catholic army, making sixteen thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, advanced to Dublin; and the two Generals joined in a paper of propositions which they signed and sent on the second of November to the Lord Lieutenant. When the reader knows that the first of these demanded that the exercise of the Romish religion in all the kingdom of Ireland, should be as free and public as it was then in France or the Low-countries, he will not think it necessary to produce the rest, in order to be convinced that they were of too extravagant a nature, as much as he wanted to gain time, for the Lord Lieutenant to treat about. As he did not therefore vouchsafe to give any answer to these proposals, the siege of Dublin was determined. But the Generals could not agree in their measures for carrying it on; and the bad weather, with a flood in the Liffy that had forced away some bridges over which they received their chief support, made their forces already labour under a scarcity of provisions. The Nuncio used his utmost endeavours to reconcile the Generals, but without success;  
and

and having a suspicion of PRESTON, he consulted with his Council whether it were not best to imprison him. The Nuncio and his zealots were for that violent measure; as thinking all that was dear to their religion and to their interests was at stake. But there were others who had not drunk quite so deep of the cup of zeal, and whose understandings were less corrupted; who saw the ruin this would instantly bring upon them by turning the whole Leinster army against them; and that it was better to put up with a suspicion of their General, than to raise a flame by such a violence, in which they should not probably be all consumed. This opinion at last prevailed: and whilst PRESTON was in this real danger, O NEIL imagined there was a design to cut off him and his army; and each of them was more vigilant in guarding against a surprise from the other than in carrying on the siege.

As the Marquis of CLANRICARDE was a Catholic, and the Leinster General bore him an extreme respect, Lord DIGBY thought it expedient to desire his Lordship to try his influence. The Marquis joined the armies accordingly, and laboured very assiduously to persuade the Nuncio and his Council to submit to the peace, upon a reasonable security for their religion. To this purpose he undertook for the repeal of the penal laws, for their possession of the churches till the King's pleasure were known in a settlement of the nation, and for the confirmation of these articles by the Queen and the Prince; for the performance of which the Crown of France should be guarantee. The Nuncio and the Prelates were not satisfied with these concessions; but whilst they were debating upon them, intelligence was brought that the forces from England were landed, and received into Dublin. The Debate closed in a moment. O NEIL and the rest started up out of their seats, and made the best of their way: he called all his men to their posts by the signal of a canon shot, and having made a bridge of trees over the Liffy, decamped in the night with his army into Meath, and thence into the Queen's county. The new Council also hastened away that night, and got to Kilkenny the next day, but the Nuncio staid a day longer; and was waited upon by the Earls of WESTMEATH, and FINGAL, with letters signed by PRESTON and the Lords and principal Gentry of the Pale, pressing him to agree to the concessions and offers made by Lord CLANRICARDE. He was too full of himself, however, and of his project of ex-

tirpating

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**CHARLES I.** *ti*ripating the Hereticks out of Ireland, to consent to any thing else; and finding they were bent upon obtaining a peace without it, he followed the Council to Kilkenny. Lord CLANRICARDE having undertaken, by the advice of Lord DIGBY, for the performance of the conditions which he had proposed, a solemn engagement was entered into by PRESTON and his Officers to observe the late peace, with the additional securities and concessions offered by Lord CLANRICARDE; to be thenceforth obedient to the King's authority, and to join with the Marquis of ORMONDE against all his Majesty's enemies, or such as should not submit to the peace upon the same terms.

Whilst this negotiation was carrying on with the Irish rebels, the Lord Lieutenant was engaged in a treaty with the Commissioners of the English Parliament. The forces which they brought with them were left on ship-board, and they landed themselves on the fourteenth of November. When they saw the weakness of the place besieged by such an army, and knew his Excellency stood in need of every thing necessary for his defence, they made no doubt of his receiving the supplies which they had brought, upon any terms; at least that the clamour of the soldiers and inhabitants, with the assistance of their party within the city, would enable them to make themselves masters of the place, and to compel the Marquis to quit the Government. The Marquis was not without a suspicion of their design: and therefore though he could not resist the importunities of the inhabitants to permit the forces to land, yet he would not admit them into the city; but assigned them quarters in the environs, on a promise from the Commissioners that they should do nothing prejudicial to the present Government under his command. The Lord Lieutenant expected that the Commissioners had brought specific answers to the propositions which he had sent to England; but they had brought no such answers, nor any instructions about them; and when he offered them a copy of the propositions, they would not receive it, nor enter into any debate upon the subject. Their instructions confined them to treat only for the surrender of the sword and garrisons; for which they offered to take the Protestants of Ireland under their protection, and to allow the Marquis his estate, or two thousand a year for five years if he did not receive so much out of his own rents. Though their offer

offer of taking the Protestants under their protection, CHARLES I.  
was expressed in such loose and equivocal terms as that a  
good deal of time was spent in clearing up their meaning,  
yet the Marquis was allowed but four days, from the opening  
of the treaty, to give in his answer. The only overture  
on which they would treat, was on the delivery of the sword  
and garrisons; and though the proposal of resigning was made  
expressly on the condition of the King's consent and direction,  
to whom the Marquis had sent a copy of the propositions for  
the Parliament to transmit to him for his direction, yet they  
would not allow it to be sent. This was a condition from which  
his Excellency could not well recede, on account of his oath when  
he took the sword; and if he surrendered the Government, the  
Irish Parliament would be dissolved, and the best security of  
the Protestants would be thereby destroyed. The Marquis therefore  
having no orders from the King, and the Commissioners having  
no instructions about his propositions for the security of the  
Protestant Clergy, of the civil and military Officers, and of the  
loyal Roman Catholics who had never been concerned in the rebellion,  
and had many of them served against the rebels though of their  
own religion, he told the Commissioners, that he could not, consistent  
with his duty, part with so great a trust in such a manner, without  
the King's command. But till this could be procured, and their  
instructions from the Parliament could be enlarged, the Marquis  
proposed to distribute their forces into his garrisons, if they should  
submit to his orders and to martial law, and if they would lend  
him three thousand pounds to support the army. These proposals  
were refused; and in a few days, they embarked on board their  
ships with all their men, which they carried into Ulster, where  
they met with a reception from the Scots that was not at all agreeable.

The solemn engagement entered into with Lord CLANRICARDE by PRESTON and his officers hath been already mentioned: and though his Lordship and Lord DIGBY, who was his assistant in this treaty, were fully persuaded of the General's good faith and clear intentions to observe it, yet the Marquis of ORMONDE had a jealousy of him, which all their importunity and Lord DIGBY's positiveness could not cure. Full of this suspicion, his Excellency could not approve of an article in that treaty to which his two friends had consented; which was, that a considerable number of the Irish forces were

CHARLES I. to be admitted into the chief garrisons that were under the King's obedience. They had indeed been cautious in avoiding to name any number or proportion of such forces; and Lord CLANRICARDE was to command their army as Lieutenant General, with PRESTON under him as Major General, by commissions from the Lord Lieutenant.

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There were several other things in the engagement of less importance, to which the Marquis of ORMONDE made strong objections; as being very unseasonable, and too prejudicial to his interests with his party for his Lordship publicly to approve of. But Lord DIGBY, who was violent in all his motions and sanguine about their success, became so importunate with the Lord Lieutenant, and both he and the Marquis of CLANRICARDE were so confident of the zeal and affection to the King's service of PRESTON and his Officers, that at last they got the better so far of his Excellency, as to persuade him to write a letter to that General. In this it appears to me, from his answer to them, that he acted against his judgment: but be this as it might. His Lordship assures him, "that if he makes a public declaration of his submission to the peace, and of his prosecution of those who shall not join with them in that submission—whereby his Excellency may be justified to his Majesty, and his own party, for the confidence and trust he meant to repose in him—he and his Officers should find all the encouragement of security and satisfaction in their submission, that they could expect, or that should lie in his Excellency's power to afford them."

This was as far as the two noble friends could bring Lord ORMONDE to by their letters: but this not being far enough to fulfil their injudicious undertakings, they repaired instantly to Dublin: when Lord DIGBY's impetuosity, and the known zeal of both for the King's service—which they represented to be at stake, as well as their own honour—prevailed on his Excellency's good nature to give them a further satisfaction. He wrote another letter to PRESTON, to assure him and his officers, and his army, that his Lordship had so full a confidence in their integrity and affection to the King's service, and to the peace of the kingdom, that he should rely as much upon their fidelity, and employ them in all trusts in the field, and in his garrisons, as he should any troops whatsoever. He therefore desired a conference with the General the next day, in order to take the best resolutions for



for the settlement of the kingdom; and in the mean time, he tells him, that he was taking care to supply the army with provisions. But even this letter did not fully come up to the wild engagements in which Lord DIGBY had embarked the Marquis of CLANRICARDE; and which the latter thought he was bound in honour to get Lord ORMONDE to support. To this purpose they prevailed upon him to write an ostensible letter to Lord CLANRICARDE of the same date; in which his Excellency assures him, "that he would carefully obey all such commands as he should receive from the King, to the advantage of the Roman Catholick subjects of that kingdom; or during his Majesty's want of freedom, from the Queen and Prince of Wales; or such as should be signified to be the King's will and pleasure by Lord DIGBY as Secretary of State; and that he would not execute any command to their prejudice, which should be procured from the King through his want of freedom." But though the Marquis of ORMONDE complied thus far to get rid of Lord DIGBY's warmth and impetuosity, yet in a month after this, when his Lordship was going to France upon one of his visions, the Marquis desired him in a letter "to be very careful, that the commands which should be directed to him touching the Irish—if any were sent from the Queen, or Prince—did not thwart the grounds he had laid to himself in point of religion; for in that, and that only, he should resort to the liberty left to a subject to obey by suffering:" and that his Lordship might not forget, or mistake his meaning upon that point, his Excellency adds, "it is in what concerns any concession that may seem to perpetuate to the Roman Catholics either churches or church livings, or that may essentially take from ours, or give to their Clergy, ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

When the negotiation with PRESTON and his Officers was finished to the satisfaction of all parties, the Lord Lieutenant and Lord DIGBY sent a long dispatch to the King with the state of public affairs. This letter is not inserted in CARTE's collection; but it appears to have been then sent, by an answer from his Majesty to the Marquis of ORMONDE, which will be recited in its proper place. At present we must turn to see what was doing in consequence of the agreement made with PRESTON and his Officers; who had "engaged themselves by the honour and

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and reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and by the sacred protestation on the faith of Catholics in the presence of GOD, to conform themselves entirely to the peace, and that they should not think themselves disobliged from this engagement by any authority or power whatsoever; provided there was no hindrance of any further grace or benefit by it from his Majesty, which he might be pleased to concede on the Queen's mediation, or any other treaty abroad." It is certain that this army was full of the highest resentment against O NEIL and the Ulster forces; who being all of the old Irish race, had at the time of their lying before Dublin expressed an inveterate hatred of the old English, and their hopes that the whole kingdom would be soon all their own. O NEIL himself had been very haughty, and discovered too much of his pretensions with regard to Ulster, and the power of the great O NEIL; which had not only incensed the Leinster forces, but had discontented Sir PHELM, and MACDONEL, who were ready to desert from him with their regiments.

It was the latter end of November when the treaty with PRESTON was concluded: and the Nuncio and his Council, as well as the congregation of the Clergy, being then assembled at Kilkenny, they proceeded immediately to condemn it. The first operations intended with PRESTON's army by the Lord Lieutenant, was to secure Waterford and Kilkenny. To this purpose, his Excellency gave them orders to march with as strong a body as he could draw out of his garrisons to the latter place, where the Marquis promised to meet him with Lord CLANRICARDE and the royal army; that so being united they might compel the rest to observe the peace. PRESTON accordingly began his march: but when the Nuncio and his Clergy heard of it, on the fifth of December, they sent him an order to stop; to disperse his army into the quarters they had assigned them; and in case of his disobedience they declared him excommunicate. The Nuncio knew him to be a thorough bigot, and full of scruples and tenderness on the point of religion: he therefore wrote to him in such a manner as he thought would prove effectual; and on the tenth of December, an agreement, by the mediation of F. DARCY, was made between them. PRESTON promised on his part to do nothing, without the consent of the Nuncio and the Clergy; and the Nuncio undertook on his, that no stain should

should be thrown on the General's honour; that none CHARLES I.  
 who had joined with him should suffer in their honour,  
 persons, or fortune; and that he should be restored to A. 1646.  
 his government of Duncannon. The next day, the  
 Nuncio sent him an indemnity in form for what had pas-  
 sed; which as soon as he received, he repaired to the  
 Council at Kilkenny, and there like a true penitent con-  
 fessed all his designs.

The Marquis of ORMONDE having received a very  
 pressing letter, written by PRESTON's order, to hasten  
 his march, and to assure him of the firm resolution of  
 that army to join with him against O'NEIL, on the ninth  
 of December he left Dublin with eight hundred foot and  
 the same number of horse, accompanied by Lord CLAN-  
 RICARDE, in order to join the Leinster army for that pur-  
 pose. But when they were come within less than a day's  
 march of the place which PRESTON had appointed for their  
 meeting, Lord CLANRICARDE, who had answered to  
 the Marquis of ORMONDE for his integrity, received a  
 letter from him to this effect: that his Officers, not being  
 excommunication proof, were fallen from him to the  
 Nuncio's party; and therefore he wished the Lord Lieut-  
 enant would proceed no further, but expect the issue of  
 a General Assembly at Kilkenny. The Marquis of  
 CLANRICARDE was like one thunder-struck, and the first  
 word he uttered was TRAITOR; but the Lord Lieute-  
 nant, though disappointed of his aim, was very little sur-  
 prised. This new violation of faith obliged him however  
 to alter his measures, and to march his forces into the  
 county of Westmeath; in hopes of subsisting them there  
 till he should see the result of this Assembly. He was not  
 in a condition to make head against O'NEIL, who con-  
 tinually alarmed them by some of his parties; and all that  
 he could do was to raise a thousand pounds from the  
 Gentlemen of the county, and to subsist his forces for a  
 few weeks in a country not so much wasted as that of  
 Dublin.

It hath been observed that a long dispatch had been  
 sent to the King by the Marquis of ORMONDE and Lord  
 DIGBY, after the treaty with the Parliament Commis-  
 sioners had been ineffectual, and that with PRESTON  
 had been concluded; as we may learn by the following  
 letter given by CARTE in his Appendix.

ORMONDE,

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ORMONDE,

The large dispatch from you and DIGBY, of the second and third of December, with the full account of your London treaty, I have received by several messengers; thereby finding with great contentment that I am no ways deceived in my confidence of you. For I really and heartily approve of all that you have done hitherto, and in particular concerning Colonel PRESTON: but for further directions, I can only say, that upon no terms you must submit to the cwik, and that you endeavour what you can to repiece your breach with the Irish, in case you can do it with honour and a good conscience; both which are so rightly understood by you, that I will neither trouble myself nor you with more particulars. I command you to follow such orders as the Queen and my Son shall send you: and so desiring to hear often from you, I rest

Your most assured, real, faithful,

constant friend,

Newcastle, 5th January,  
1647.

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Though one cannot be positive that the words in cypher in this letter must necessarily be understood to mean the English Parliament, yet they certainly may be so understood without any forced interpretation; and considering what went before and what followed, the cypher does not seem to be capable of any other. But if this was the King's meaning, the Marquis was obliged to act a part opposite to it. When he returned with his army to Dublin, the inhabitants were some of them so discontented at refusing the succours sent from England, others were so exasperated at the repeated treachery of the Irish, and all of them were so impoverished by the decay of traffick, that they refused to contribute any longer to the maintenance of his forces. He was obliged therefore to draw them forth again in the midst of a cold and wet winter—half starved and half naked as they were—to subsist in the enemies quarters; where he suffered no act of hostility to be committed, nor any thing to be taken but provisions. In this uneasy situation, he continued to expect the result of the General Assembly, called to meet in the begin-

beginning of January. For he supposed it impossible to be so constituted, but that it would abhor the violation of the former treaty, and their unwarrantable presumption of the congregation of the Clergy at Waterford: in short he expected that it would vindicate the faith of their nation and religion from the reproaches it lay under, and from the extravagant jurisdiction which the Nuncio had assumed to himself over the kingdom. Let us see how it answered his expectations.

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In a short time after the Assembly met, they set at liberty the members of the late Supreme Council, and the agents who had concluded the peace, who had been imprisoned by the Nuncio and his Council: declaring "that they had faithfully and sincerely carried and demeaned themselves in the said negotiation, pursuant and according to the trust reposed in them." The debate however upon this declaration was carried on with great heat for three weeks together. The Nuncio insisted on the censure of the Commissioners with so much bitterness, that he had like to have lost it upon the question. At last it was settled, to add to the declaration above-mentioned—though it justified two actions contradictory to each other—"that they might not accept of, or submit to the said peace, and did thereby protest against it, and declare it invalid and of no force; and moreover that the nation would not accept of any peace not containing a sufficient satisfactory security of the religion, lives, estates, and liberties of the said confederate Catholics." That the meaning of this security might not remain vague or uncertain, the Clergy, who were at the same time convened in Synod by the Nuncio, presented to the Assembly these propositions: That Popery should be established throughout the kingdom, not only in their own but the Protestant quarters; that they should retain the possession of all churches, benefices, and dignities; that the common law, which gave the Crown any ecclesiastical power, should be repealed; that they should erect schools and universities under their own regulations; that they should appoint provisions to bishopricks, dignities, and livings, and exercise their ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its full extent. The substance of these propositions, after many debates, was agreed to by the Assembly. But the point which occasioned the greatest altercation was a new oath of association, to be taken by all persons for the continuance of their union, till all these propositions, which were to be annexed to it, were ob-

**CHARLES I.** tained and secured to their party. With some explanations, however, it was approved, annexed to the propositions, and taken by all the members of the Assembly.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE had waited thus long, amidst the greatest difficulties and dangers, in expectation of the issue of this Assembly; and he now saw all the hopes, which his charity and compassion had hitherto kept up against his experience, entirely blasted. The men, whose natures, interests, and dispositions, made them most averse to the English Parliament, grew more affrighted at the thoughts of falling under the power of the perfidious Irish. In short the people of all humours and inclinations, who lived under his government, and had dislike and jealousies enough against each other, were yet united and reconciled in their opinions against the Confederates; who had not only despoiled them of their fortunes, and prosecuted them with cruelty, but who had made it evident by their late notorious perfidy, in breaking the treaty of peace, in their treacherous design against the Marquis at Kilkenny, and the like treachery intended by PRÆSTON and his party, that there was no security to be had under them. The distresses of the State and army, without provisions, without stores, without money to procure them, and without credit, were further motives to induce the Lord Lieutenant to apply for succours from some other quarter. But what among other important considerations made a great impression upon his Excellency, was the knowledge of a design to alienate the kingdom from the Crown of England, and to extirpate the Protestants, and all the Catholics of English race.

Upon all these considerations, the Marquis of ORMONDE thought it best to deposit the rights of the Crown of England, and the interests of the King and his Protestant subjects with the English Parliament; and it was accordingly unanimously resolved in Council to apply to them for succour. As soon as this application was known to the General Assembly, a proposal was made by some of the members to treat of a peace, or an accommodation. The Nuncio opposed it; but the majority thinking it proper to excuse themselves from the charge of imposing a necessity on the Lord Lieutenant to agree with the English Parliament, two agents were sent to him with some overtures, which the Nuncio took care should be inadmissible: And yet insolent as they were—  
being

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being an abstract of such as we have just seen—the agents refused to put them in writing; and when the Marquis had taken them down as they dictated them they refused to sign them. To these therefore the Marquis made no other reply, than that he would consider them, and send an answer by messengers of his own; and being in no haste to do this, they sent another agent to press him on that subject; to whom he only said, that he could not assent to the propositions in the manner they were formed. In a short time after he had sent an offer to the Parliament Commissioners, to deliver up the sword and garrisons under his command, on the conditions they had lately settled, the Parliament of Ireland met; and the two Houses joined in an address of thanks to him, “for his pious care and providence in preserving them at the hazard of his life, and the expence of his fortune; and when he could no longer resist a perfidious and bloody enemy, for transferring them into other hands that could preserve them.” To perpetuate his merit and their own gratitude to posterity, this address was ordered to be entered in the journals, and to be presented by the Speakers of both Houses. The Marquis received this honourable testimony of the wisdom and integrity of his administration with his usual modesty; and in return assured them, that he had never received any other command from the King, but such as bespoke him to be a pious, wise, and Protestant Prince.

LORD CLARENDON in his vindication of the Marquis of ORMOND, mentioned in the preface, and all the writers from him, have assigned as another reason for his Lordship's agreement with the Parliament, his having received a private verbal direction from the King, that if there was a necessity for his giving up Dublin and the other garrisons, he should rather put them into the hands of the English than the Irish. It is not impossible that young Sir G. HAMILTON, who is said to bring this message, might take upon him to affirm, that he knew the King's mind well enough to know that such a step would be most agreeable to him. But that the Marquis of ORMOND thought it to be no authentic signification of his Majesty's pleasure, is very certain from the apologies that he makes for his conduct in this particular, in two letters to the King, in another to the Queen, and above all in a paper containing a summary relation of the affairs of Ireland, which he delivered to the King after his return to

**CHARLES I.** England; in which he sets forth at large the reasons which had determined him to make his agreement with the Parliament. Had he received such a direction as these writers affirm, there would have been no occasion for these apologies: nay if they had not believed that this part of his conduct was rather displeasing to the King—and which confirms the interpretation of the cypher in the last recited letter—his Lordship would not have thought it necessary to labour his vindication of it in the paper above referred to, published in **CARTE'S** collection.

A. 1647. As soon as the application to the English Parliament was known, Lord **INCHQUIN**, to whom the Marquis had applied, sent him a small cargo of powder for the defence of Dublin, and with the army which he had in Munster gave a powerful diversion to **PRESTON'S** forces. Lord **LISLE** had for some time been arrived in the province of **MUNSTER** as the Parliament's Lord Lieutenant, but we hear nothing of what he did there: he might perhaps direct, but every thing was acted by the President. To stop his Lordship's progress, and to put Waterford out of danger, **PRESTON** was recalled by the Supreme Council; for **O NEIL** would obey no orders, not even those of the Nuncio, though his troops called themselves the Pope's army and the defenders of the Clergy; whom their continual depredations rendered odious. The success of Lord **INCHQUIN** had struck such a terror in the new Council, the Assembly being broken up, that they thought it adviseable to renew their overtures in the beginning of May for an accommodation: for a submission to the peace, and the King's authority, were now out of the question. Father **LEYBOURN** chaplain to the Queen, was at this time arrived in Ireland under the name of **WINTER GRANT**, with letters from her Majesty and the Prince, as well as blank powers signed by them separately and jointly for the Lord Lieutenant; in order to establish the peace, and then to assist the King. The Supreme Council had a little before refused a cessation proposed by the Marquis of **ORMONDE**: but now being alarmed at the progress which Lord **INCHQUIN** had made, and to clear themselves to the Queen of the odium of driving the Marquis to submit to the English Parliament, they employed **GRANT** to negotiate an accommodation with him.



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As nothing had yet been done in consequence of the Marquis's offer to the Parliament Commissioner, it still in his power to comply with the Irish, were reasonable enough to consent to what would be such an agreement. But they sent him a written answer that they must insist on the propositions of the Marquis agreed at Waterford—above mentioned—to which he had sworn; and that if he would have a cessation with them, he must promise not to receive any force from the two Houses of Parliament in six or seven months. The Marquis was persuaded by Lord DIGBY—though not without more dispute than had ever arisen between them, as he tells GRANT in his letter—to send an answer to this overture; in which he offered not to receive any force from the two Houses for the space of three weeks, if during that time they would submit to a cessation in which a full peace might be concluded; and to this he never received any reply. But O NEIL, foreseeing the consequence of compelling the Lord Lieutenant to leave the kingdom, and to put Dublin and the other garrisons into the hands of the Parliament, sent his nephew DANIEL to him with this message, “that if the Marquis would accept of a cessation for two months, which he believed the Supreme Council would propose, he would engage himself to continue it for a year, and in that time he would use his utmost power to procure a peace.” To this the Marquis replied by another message, that if O NEIL would give his word for a cessation for a year, he would accept it, and wave any further treaty with the English Parliament; provided that he received—and not otherwise—such a positive effect of his overture as he expected within fourteen days. O NEIL accepted the conditions; and instantly dispatched his nephew to the Supreme Council with a letter of advice, and another to his chief confidant the Popish Bishop of CLOGHER, with the reasons at large which ought to induce the Nuncio to desire such a cessation. But the measure of their iniquity was not yet full. The Supreme Council, instead of taking this advice, or making any reply, perceiving the Marquis had limited O NEIL to fourteen days, imprisoned his nephew till the time was expired: and then released him on condition that he should no more return to his uncle's quarters. In this manner ended all negotiations with the Irish Catholics: let us now turn to the treaty with the English Parliament.

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The committee for the affairs of Ireland did not hesitate a moment in accepting the offer of the Lord Lieutenant; but there was a greater delay in sending a relief to him than he required, or was consistent with his distresses. This was partly owing to the divisions in the Parliament itself, and partly to a diffidence lest the treaty now proposed should be as ineffectual as the former. Therefore to remove the last difficulty, the Parliament proposed that the Marquis should send over one of his sons, and three other persons of quality or distinction, as hostages for his performance of the articles; which being done, they would order their forces now in Ireland, and some additional regiments to be sent over, to be under his command till their commissioners should arrive at Dublin, and the treaty should be concluded. Lord R. BUTLER the Marquis's second son, and three other hostages were sent accordingly; the first remaining at Chester, and the others going to London with instructions from the Lord Lieutenant. The hostages being sent, the English forces marched to Dublin; and soon after, three or four thousand more, with the Commissioners, arrived from England. On the nineteenth of June, the treaty was perfected and signed; by which the Lord Lieutenant was to deliver up the sword on the twenty eighth of July, or sooner if required on four days notice. The Protestants were all to be secured in their estates; those who had paid contributions to support the Government to be protected in their estates and persons; the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers who desired to accompany the Marquis of ORMONDE out of Ireland, to have passes; and the Popish recusants who had not assisted nor adhered to the rebels were encouraged to continue in their houses and estates; in confidence of the favour of the Parliament, according as they should demean themselves in the present service.

The Marquis of ORMONDE having taken up above thirteen thousand pounds on his credit, in order to supply the wants and compose the murmurings of the army, which he had promised to repay before he quitted the Government, a certificate from the Council of this disbursement was sent over with the Commissioners, who went on the first overture to the Parliament, in order to stipulate for their payment of this sum. The Council indeed would have persuaded him to demand what was due to him for his appointments and commissions, and his rents

rents which the Parliament officers had received; and there is no doubt but these sums so justly due would have been allowed him. But the Marquis was too jealous of his honour, and had too great a mind, to mix any thing of himself in this transaction. For this reason he demanded only the sum that had been certified, and for which he stood engaged; three thousand of which were to be paid in money before he left Dublin, and the rest in accepted bills of exchange on France or Holland, one half at fifteen days sight, and the other at six months. But the Commissioners did not fulfil their conditions honourably: the three thousand pounds were not brought; and the Marquis was obliged to leave his Lady behind him to receive it, and discharge the debts which that money was intended to pay. The bills were brought for the remainder, but not accepted: and though he was told that he might depend on the honour and faith of the Parliament, yet the bill for the last sum was returned protested, and above fifteen hundred pounds were never paid at all.

But notwithstanding the commissioners were thus scandalously wanting on their part of the treaty, yet they were very pressing with the Marquis to perform what he had stipulated; and having gotten the power into their hands, they lost no time to convince the world that they were possessed of it. The English Liturgy was then established by law, the act of uniformity was still in force in Ireland, and even no ordinance had passed in England for its suspension. But these Commissioners, within four days after the treaty was signed, trampling the law under their own authority as their Masters had done before them, published an order to discontinue the use of the Common Prayer, and for all ministers of churches and chapels in the City to use the Directory. The Clergy represented to them the obligation they were under, by the only law then in force in that kingdom against Popish recusants, to use the Liturgy; the pleasure it would give the Papists to see them denied the liberty of their consciences in divine worship; the offence it would give the Protestants who had little or nothing else now left them to enjoy; and the door which it would open for the Papists to enter into their pulpits and seduce the people. But this sensible remonstrance was all in vain; and these hypocritical pretenders to religious liberty directed their order to be executed with great rigour. Hence the Clergy ceased to officiate, and the Liturgy was left off in all the churches

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of Dublin. The Bishop of MEATH however, who was Provost of the College, persisted in using it in the College chapel: where he preached with a true apostolical freedom against the errors of the times, and where he was always attended with a very crowded audience. For people never feel so much zeal, and so thorough a sense of religion, as in times of calamity and persecution. The Marquis of ORMONDE had put off the delivery of the regalia till the latter end of July; in hopes of obtaining leave from England to carry some men into foreign service, and to take measures for their levy and transportation. But this was denied him: neither did the Commissioners at Dublin keep within the bounds of common decency and such as their articles required. When he complained of this breach of honour, they did not pretend to assign a reason for their proceedings, but told him plainly that they were competent judges themselves, and would not allow others to direct their actions. On the next day, they gave him notice to remove with his family from the Castle, and to deliver the Regalia within four days according to his stipulation. But it being inconvenient for him to embark so soon as they had fixed, and being not willing to stay after he had delivered up the sword, he compromised the matter with them by quitting the Castle immediately, and deferring the ceremonial of the sword till the day first agreed on. Upon that day, the Marquis, having left the Regalia to be delivered to the Commissioners, went on board a frigate, attended by many of the distressed Clergy with their prayers; whose families had been kept from perishing by want through his own and his Lady's bounty, and sailed for England. In this manner ended the first administration of the Marquis of ORMONDE; an administration attended with more difficulties and dangers, more distresses and opposition, than perhaps ever fell to the lot of any other Minister in the world: and yet no Minister ever acquitted himself with more wisdom and integrity, and, notwithstanding his ill success, ever acquired a reputation of truer glory.

No sooner had the Irish rebels compelled the Lord Lieutenant to leave the Kingdom, than those of the old English, and of PRESTON's party, were in a terrible consternation; fearing the good men of the nation, well affected to the King and the peace of the country, would be sacrificed with the bad who had no regard to either. O'NEIL had been made by the new Supreme Council General

ral of Conaught, and had a strong party for him in that province. All that part of Ulster which belonged to the Confederates was absolutely in his power; and he was in possession of three or four counties in Lienster, upon which he quartered his forces which encreased every day. Hence he was grown very obnoxious to the old English, who apprehended that he designed their extirpation. The Earl of GLAMORGAN, who was no longer capable of serving the King by his airy projects, and contented himself with being a creature of the Nuncio's, had been made—as already mentioned—General of Munster by his interest. But the Gentry of the province considered this as an affront, to have a stranger put upon them; and either for this reason, or because they thought he would join with O NEIL and the Ulster forces to support the Nuncio's measures, of whom they began to be weary, they did not care to serve under his Lordship. Lord INCHQUIN, as we have seen, was wasting the province with his forces, and had laid the greatest part of it under contribution: but the common danger could not unite them. GLAMORGAN complained of the collectors of the money, who were combined against him by the artifices of Lord MUSKERY; and some of his Officers complained to the Council of the behaviour of that Nobleman and his friends. In the mean time he repaired to the army, where he had great interest; and in an hour's time they declared for him, and turned Lord GLAMORGAN out of his command. The Nuncio, being made acquainted with this ill treatment of his favourite, went to the Council at Clonmell, insisted on his being restored, and threatened Lord MUSKERY, if he did not resign, with the censures of the Church. The Council sent to know of his Lordship by what authority he had turned out the former General. He sent them word that he had done it to preserve his life against those who aimed at it; and that being safe, he would take care that the orders of the Council should be obeyed, which others slighted. Having secured this point, his Lordship and the Munster Gentry presented a remonstrance against O NEIL; in which having set forth the grievances which the Council and the country had suffered from him and from his ambitious views, they declared themselves obedient sons of the Church, and sworn Confederates of the Catholic cause; but yet that they would join ORMONDE, INCHQUIN, or the Turk, rather than expose themselves

to

**CHARLES I.** to be enslaved by O'NEIL and his army. At last the matter was compromised: the Council interposed with the Nuncio to stop the proceedings of O'NEIL; Lord GLAMORGAN, as a salvo to his honour was restored in form to the command of the Munster army for a few days, and then quitted it entirely to Lord MUSKERRY.

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The province of Leinster had actually suffered more from the depredations of O'NEIL, than the people of Munster had any reason to fear. He lay in the heart of that province with twelve thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, and was able to reduce it all under his power. For this reason, PRESTON and his Officers held a consultation with Lord MUSKERRY and the Gentry of Munster; in order to take proper measures for their security, both against O'NEIL, and against the forces of the Parliament under Colonel JONES, the Governour of Dublin and the General of those forces there: and that they might beget a greater confidence and union between the armies of the two provinces, it was agreed that Lord TAAFE, of whom the Leinster forces had a great opinion, and who was a particular friend of Lord MUSKERRY's, should have the command of the Munster army in the room of the latter, that he might be at leisure to attend and execute their measures in the Supreme Council. TAAFE was a man of parts, and of invincible courage; a Catholic, but zealously affected to the King, and strongly attached to the peace, and the Marquis of ORMOND. PRESTON had seen the mistake of driving away the Marquis, when it was too late; and was willing to enter into any measures that were likely to lay a foundation for his return. The measures just mentioned were concerted chiefly by the advice of Lord DIGBY, who had not yet got away into France: and if they had preserved with as much care as they had increased their forces, the advice would have proved very effectual.

PRESTON was now at the head of eight thousand men well appointed and well disciplined, called the Leinster army; and it was necessary to enlarge their quarters in that province. He went therefore at the head of a considerable party for this purpose, and JONES marched out of Dublin to oppose him. But the former, having secured the advantage ground, soon routed the English, killing many, and taking several prisoners; JONES himself escaping narrowly to Dublin. Encouraged by this success, PRESTON continued advancing with his army; possessed

possessed himself of most part of the out-garrisons till he came within eight miles of the capital; and after taking in Trim, to which he laid siege, intended to invest that city. This occasioned another skirmish, in which the Irish had the advantage: and these successes, with an army that had been always beaten, or had always fled before the Marquis of ORMONDE, added a great deal to the dissatisfaction of the forces at Dublin, already enough uneasy at the want of money and other necessaries. Amidst this discontent, JONES was obliged to draw out above four thousand men, and to march with some artillery to the relief of Trim; being joined with two thousand more from other garrisons. On the approach of this army, PRESTON raised the siege; intending to get the start of them and to make an attempt on Dublin. But JONES having received intelligence of his motion and guessing at his design, marched with so much expedition that he overtook him the next day at Dungan-hill; where though PRESTON had the advantages of the ground and sun and wind, and the English forces were in no order, yet his cavalry giving way at the first charge and breaking in upon his foot, the rout soon became so general, that above three thousand—BORTASE says above five—were put to the sword, and all their cannon, arms, and baggage taken. The English could not improve their victory for want of provisions; and the Irish General in his retreat burnt the places he had lately taken, and retired into Carlow to recruit his army. The Supreme Council, being alarmed with this great defeat, sent for O NEIL from Conaught, whither he had marched to take Sligo, and had not succeeded; but who laughed at PRESTON for being drawn to an engagement against his will. He therefore lay still, till JONES, finding he could not force him to a battle, had dismissed his troops to their former garrisons; and then he advanced towards Dublin, burning all the country up almost to the walls of the city. Having done this service, which put the inhabitants and the army there into the utmost difficulties, he retreated without any other action.

The cause of the Confederates was not more successful in the province of Munster. For tho' the republican Lord Lieutenant seems to have been quite inactive, at least in military matters, yet Lord INCHQUIN who had laid the counties of Clare and Limerick under contribution, already mentioned, had now treated Tipperary in the same manner

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manner without opposition. He had no artillery, nor any more bread than the soldiers carried in their knapsacks; but he was so alert, that after taking ten or twelve little castles and passing the river Sure, he took by stratagem the impregnable fort of Cahir, which had formerly held out for two months against twenty thousand men. It was the most important place in the whole province; commanding a pass over the river, and opening a way into Tipperary, which had always furnished the principal contributions to the Munster army of the rebels. But Lord INCHQUIN drew another important advantage from this acquisition: his army had nothing before to live upon but roots which they got out of the ground, and growing corn; for all the cattle had been driven away as they advanced: but now they ranged over the finest country in the kingdom, took great preys of cattle, and burnt above twenty thousand pounds worth of corn, whereof no use could be made, all the mills in the country being destroyed or burnt. The sudden reduction of the fort of Cahir, too strong to be retaken, struck all the neighbouring country with amazement and terror. Lord TAFFE, who commanded the rebel Munster army, withdrew from Cashel as Lord INCHQUIN approached it: and the inhabitants leaving the gates open and deserting their houses retired to the Cathedral. This was a strong and spacious building seated upon a rock near the walls of the city; which had of late been very well fortified, and provided by Lord TAFFE with a good garrison. It was no easy matter therefore to reduce it: and INCHQUIN offered before he attacked it to give leave for the garrison and inhabitants to depart, on condition they would advance three thousand pounds and a month's pay for his army. This proposal was rejected, and the place taken by storm: where a prodigious booty was found, and a most horrible carnage of the citizens and garrison ensued before his Lordship entered; who put a stop to it immediately. He might have made a further progress; for TAFFE all this while lay still, either not to hazard his forces, as Lord DIGBY had advised him, or for want of money to draw them together, but Lord INCHQUIN wanting provisions distributed his army into garrisons. A great quarrel had arisen between him and the other Generals in Munster about the right of command, when Lord LISLIE as Lord Lieutenant was to depart. It could not be settled by the Commissioners from the Parliament; and the



the Parliament was too much engaged in their own disputes at that time to attend to any thing else. Though Lord INCHQUIN was therefore left in the military as well as civil command of the province—which as President from the Parliament he had a right to be—yet many suspicions of him were entertained.

The inactivity of Lord TAAFE, whilst Lord INCHQUIN was making such an amazing progress, created a jealousy in the Nuncio that it was owing to a concert between them. This jealousy, and the clamour which the slaughter of near twenty Priests in the cathedral of Cashell had made amongst the Irish, obliged TAAFE to assemble his army at a time when the approach of winter seemed to forbid any further action. Lord INCHQUIN being well informed of their motions drew his men out of their garrisons in order to oppose him; and in the middle of November, at a place called Knocknones, the two armies met and engaged. The left wing of the English was broke, and pursued with great slaughter; and their cannon and carriages possessed by the enemy. But the right wing commanded by Lord INCHQUIN, opposed the right wing of the Irish, led by TAAFE, with so much courage, that the Munster regiments of the Catholics, after a single fire, threw down their arms and ran away: nor could the General stop their flight though he slew several of them with his own hand. The right wing being thus victorious, the Commander hastened to assist and rally the left; where he recovered his artillery, killed seven hundred brave Highlanders who had possessed it and stood their ground without an Officer, and gave quarter to the rest. The Irish lost all their arms, ammunition, and baggage, and about three thousand men slain in the action; wherein the flower of the rebel Munster army was cut in pieces. Colonel MONCK having been sent over to be Governour of Ulster for the Parliament, as JONES had been of Leinster, they joined their forces about this time, and took several castles and garrisons in the hands of the Irish, without opposition; and having secured great preys of cattle and other pillage, the former took his party back to Ulster, and the latter returned to Dublin. When the English Parliament were informed of the defeat of the two armies under TAAFE and PRESTON, they ordered a thousand pounds to JONES, the same sum with a letter of thanks to Lord INCHQUIN, and ten thousand pounds for the province of Munster. No other

**CHARLES I.** other action happening for the remainder of this year in the field, we must turn to see what was done in the several Councils.

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At Dublin, where the sovereign authority used to reside, there was not so much as the face of a State to be seen; but every body said what they thought, and did what they pleased. The Marquis of ORMOND had not landed in England before the soldiers grew unruly, threatened the Parliament-commissioners, plundered the inhabitants promiscuously, and beat their officers, if they pretended to reprimand them. JONES finding himself unequal to the difficulties of his post desired the Parliament to ease him of the burden of the Government, and to employ a person of quality and of honour to command in chief; as, he said, it must be the work of Nobles to reduce and settle the kingdom. The time indeed then was favourable for that work: the leading men of the Pale had offered JONES to make their submission, if they might enjoy the benefit of the late peace. The chief Nobility, Gentry, and Officers of Leinster and Munster, were ready to come in upon the same terms, if they might be allowed a moderate exercise of their religion: and even many of the Clergy, and all the cities and corporations in their quarters, were ready to join with them. All this on the part of the Catholics. The Protestants, except a few Sectaries, even those who had shewed the greatest aversion to the peace, being amazed and confounded with the strange turns they had seen in the religious and civil Government, and dreading from a little what a great deal would produce, above all things desired the return of the Marquis of ORMOND with the same power and authority that he had enjoyed before.

The General Assembly met about the middle of November according to their adjournment. The nation had been so much devastated with the shocking depredations of the forces under O NEIL, and through the violent measures of the Nuncio and his Prelates, and their cause had suffered so much for their notorious breach of faith, and been so visibly punished in the opinion of many by the defeat of their two armies, that the members generally wished for peace, to put an end to their miseries, and to the apprehensions they had of greater. It was the resolution of many of the best and wisest of them to meddle no more in public affairs: but at the earnest entreaty of Lord MUSKERRY and some others, they were persuaded

to

to make one push more to save the nation from utter ruin; CHARLES I.  
 which could only be saved by getting a majority in the  
 Assembly. To this purpose they were so assiduous, that  
 notwithstanding the Supreme Council were for the most  
 part the Nuncio's creatures, yet they succeeded in their  
 design: but to balance this interest, he prevailed with the  
 Council to summon by writs to the Assembly eleven Bi-  
 shops, whom he had recommended to Rome; though  
 none of them were consecrated, nor their Bulls come  
 from thence. The Lawyers contended against their ad-  
 mission; alledging that by the law of the land, no Bishop,  
 till he was consecrated and possessed of the temporalities  
 of his see, could sit and vote in Parliament. The Nuncio  
 pretended their Bulls were past, and threatened to conse-  
 crate them himself; but fearing this would not be ap-  
 proved at Rome, he ordered the Bishops elect to go and  
 take their places in the Assembly, as having no doubt of  
 their right, and see who would dare to turn them out.  
 The Assembly, dreading the consequences of such a step,  
 with men under the influence of a Papal Nuncio capable  
 of every violence, acquiesced in their sitting; from  
 whence he derived great advantage.

When the state of the nation came to be considered,  
 it was soon perceived by every one and admitted by most,  
 that there was no way of saving it but by a peace. The  
 difficulty was how to treat of that affair, since there was  
 no body in the kingdom, now the Lord Lieutenant was  
 gone, who had any power to treat with them on that sub-  
 ject. It was therefore resolved to send agents into France,  
 and to the Queen and Prince of Wales for that purpose;  
 but the Nuncio being afraid that such a deputation would  
 end in bringing over the Prince and the Marquis of Ox-  
 monde, which would blast all his measures, opposed it  
 with all his might. Some of his party proposed the put-  
 ting themselves under the protection of a foreign power,  
 and the Nuncio pressed their choosing the Pope; though  
 expressly contrary to the orders he had received from  
 Rome. This motion however was strongly combated by  
 the Nobility; and it was concluded to send agents to  
 Rome, and Spain, as well as France. The Nuncio la-  
 boured hard to defer all the embassies except that to Rome;  
 and when he could not carry the point, he insisted that  
 the agents to Rome should depart first, and that those sent  
 to France should remain there till they heard from the o-  
 thers at Rome. In this respect he was complied with:  
 but

**CHARLES I.** but still he had his terrors about the French negotiation ; and what to do he could not tell. At last he thought of this device to frustrate it : he got the Prelates and Ecclesiasticks to his house, and engaged them to sign the following declaration ; “ that they would never consent that either the Queen or the Prince of Wales should be invited over, till the Pope’s articles about religion should be secured to them ; or that any one but a Roman Catholick should be Lord Lieutenant ; or that the forts and armies of the Confederates should be delivered up to Hereticks ; or that any peace should be made to lessen the present state and public exercise of their religion, let the Majority of the General Assembly determine on those points what they pleased.” That so weak a man as the Nuncio, who was a stranger and had no connections in the country, should push the Irish to their destruction, in order to gratify his zeal and passion is no great wonder : religious zeal in the hands of a madman is a terrible engine : but that a set of Ecclesiasticks should avow more attachment to a foreign power than their rightful Prince, that they should have no feelings of humanity for their native country, and should resolve to deluge it in blood, in despite of that authority—the General Assembly—which they had themselves created, is such a stain upon their character as no time will efface : and if it were owing to principle, and not to wickedness, who would be of such a religion ?

When the agents on the several embassies were to be named, the titular Bishop of CLOCHER, a man of great influence among the Irish, was appointed to go with Lord MUSKERY and J. BROWN into France. The Bishop excused himself from the employment, as being particularly obnoxious to the Queen, and understanding neither French nor English : but the Assembly upon the question resolved that he should be sent : he then rose up in his place, and with an air of contempt told them positively that he would not go. This insult on the Assembly caused a great confusion ; the Bishop was admonished not to stir out of the city ; the Lawyers moved for his imprisonment ; the Nuncio took fire at the breach of the immunities of the Clergy ; PRESTON went to join his army for the support of the civil power, and O NEIL was sent for to assist the Bishop. At last the affair was compromised, and the Marquis of ANTRIM appointed to go in his room. A draught of the instructions for the  
agents

agents being presented to the Assembly, the Clergy openly protested, that unless they might add to or expunge any of them, as they should think most serviceable to their religion, they would not consent to them. The session was just then concluding; and as the discussion of every article would take up too much time, it was referred to the Clergy and the Supreme Council to settle them. The party that laboured for peace did not trouble themselves so much about these instructions, as about the choice of the members of the Council which was to govern in the intervals of the Assembly. They proposed the same persons who had made the peace, and whom the Nuncio had imprisoned; and the Clergy absolutely excluded them. It was then proposed that an equal number should be taken out of the two parties that had been for and against the peace: and this appearing equitable without any inconvenience, as eight out of the twelve were necessary to make any order valid, the proposal was on both sides assented to. But as several of the members might be absent occasionally, and so there might not be a sufficient number to do any business, Lord MUSKERY proposed with great art, just as the Assembly was rising, that some supernumeraries might be appointed to supply the place of such as might be absent; upon which in a great hurry they named eight and forty, all of his own party. The Nuncio reproached the titular Bishop of FERN'S very severely for suffering himself to be over-reached in this regulation; which would give the power of the Council into the hands of the Marquis of ORMONDE'S friends.

The agents to Rome were charged with particular instructions from the Nuncio, and a joint petition signed by eight of their Bishops, as well as a letter from O'NEIL to the Pope, to make RINUCCINI a Cardinal. The chief articles of their instructions were to insist on having always Catholick Lord Lieutenants and Generals, the continuance of their present Government till a peace was settled, and in case no such settlement could be procured, nor the nation preserved without a protector, to solicit his Holiness to accept the office. Besides the first part of these instructions, the agents to the Queen and Prince, by the management of the Nuncio, were charged with others: they were not to invite the Prince over to Ireland till all the articles of the peace were settled and received; neither were they to settle those relating to religion till

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they had heard the sentiments of the Pope about them from the agents that went to Rome. The Marquis of ANTRIM having different views from his colleagues chose to go to Paris by himself; full of hopes, from his own natural confidence and vanity, and from the favour he stood in with the Nuncio and the Clergy, that he should be made the Catholick Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But the Nuncio being determined to insist upon such an appointment, had recommended his thorough friend the Earl of GLAMORGAN for that post, and had sent him some time before to Paris to solicit it. We must now leave the agents to pursue their journey; and turn to the affairs which were carrying on in the mean time in Ireland.

The quarrel between Lord INCHQUIN, and Lord BROGHILL and other Parliament Generals about the right of command in Munster, hath been already mentioned: and the Parliament not having supported him in his right, and having sent over but a small part of the sum that had been voted for his province, confirmed that dislike which he had long entertained of their proceedings. Indeed to say the truth, he had never liked them from the beginning. For though his ill treatment at Oxford about the Presidency had disgusted him with the Court, and the infidelity of the Irish in breaking the cessation in Munster, had driven him into the party of the Parliament, as we have seen, yet he was always strong in principle for the Monarchy, and the English constitution. When he found therefore that the Independents were attempting to destroy both, to dethrone the King, to level the Nobility, to extirpate the established Church, and to confound all orders and ranks of men, his principles got the better of his resentment, and he determined at all hazards to serve the King again. The Parliament had long entertained a suspicion of his disaffection, from the many free remonstrances he had made against the neglect of the Irish war and of his own army in particular; and this suspicion induced them probably to send Lord LISLE over for a year to reside as Lord Lieutenant in Munster. But when Lord INCHQUIN saw that the army in England had invaded the freedom and openly disobeyed the authority of the Parliament, he published a declaration against their proceedings; copies of which he sent to MONROE in Ulster, and to the State in Scotland, with letters proposing an union, and informing them of his

his resolution to obey no orders from the Parliament, as CHARLES I.  
 long as it continued to be overawed by the Army. With A. 1648.  
 this view he had corresponded with the Marquis of OR-  
 MONDE whilst he was in England; and the Marquis at  
 this time sent Colonel Barry over to him to concert mea-  
 sures with him, and to recommend his making a cessation  
 with the Irish for some months, that he might be at lei-  
 sure to advance his Majesty's service wherever it might be  
 necessary. Besides the defeat he had given them under  
 TAAFE, already mentioned, he had just now taken se-  
 veral castles and forts, laid great part of the counties of  
 Waterford and Kilkenny under contribution, and had  
 made incursions up to the very walls of the latter; which  
 had put the Supreme Council in such a fright that they  
 had thoughts of quitting it: and though the approach of  
 their own armies under TAAFE and PRESTON had made  
 them lay aside that design, yet they were terrified enough  
 by their late danger to be willing to prevent the like a-  
 gain by a cessation; and even the Nuncio thought it ne-  
 cessary to make one, either with JONES, or INCHQUIN.  
 The well affected part of the Council were for making it  
 with the latter, as most likely to be serviceable to the  
 King; and his Lordship had no other objection but to  
 the time: because such a step would be an open breach  
 with the Parliament, from whom he still expected supplies,  
 and would discover his design too early.

Lord INCHQUIN however had consented that Colonel  
 BARRY should enter on the negotiation, when he received  
 an account from the Marquis of ORMONDE that he was  
 going to France: that he had concerted some measures  
 with the Scots and the King's friends in England; and  
 that he should repair again to Ireland, as soon as he had  
 made a provision in France for the expedition. The Mar-  
 quis had waited on his Majesty several times at Hampton  
 Court; in one of which he tendered the King his com-  
 mission of Lord Lieutenant, which had succeeded so  
 unhappily in his hands: but the King refusing it, said,  
 that either the Marquis himself, or no body, should use  
 it hereafter with better success. In these conferences, he  
 received a direction from his Majesty, in case the Inde-  
 pendents should proceed to extremities with him, in  
 what manner his Excellency should behave himself, and  
 comply with the Irish; if he could dispose them to be in-  
 strumental in the King's delivery from his enemies. To  
 that purpose he was also ordered to confer with the Scotch

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Commissioners then at London, to try if he could reduce that kingdom also to his Majesty's obedience, and by their joint assistance establish the tranquillity of his dominions. The Marquis staid in London upon the last design, till directions were given by the ruling powers to apprehend him; and then he secretly transported himself into France, where resolutions of the utmost importance to the King's service were to be taken. When Lord INCHQUIN received the account above-mentioned from him, he dispatched one of his Officers to Edinburgh to attend the resolutions of the Scotch Parliament, and to settle their joint concurrence in promoting his Majesty's service. But an accident prevented his waiting for their resolution, and obliged him to declare himself much sooner than he desired. Some of his officers suspecting his design, or hoping to recommend themselves to the republican governors, formed a plot to seize Corke, and Youghall, whilst the President was abroad with the army. With this view they had sent a ship to England for supplies, which were to be landed at Youghall; on the arrival of which they did not doubt to persuade the greatest part of his army to desert him. But the conspiracy was discovered and prevented; the conspirators were imprisoned, and the Parliament ships in those parts stood out to sea, and blocked up some of his harbours.

Though this proceeding against the imprisoned Officers was necessary to his security, yet it obliged him to discover himself before he was ready to execute his design. Matters being thus unavoidably precipitated, he gave immediate notice of it to the Marquis of ORMONDE; advising his landing between Kinsale and Limerick, and earnestly pressing his coming over with a supply of money, if he could, but if not without it. Having dispatched this express, the next care of Lord INCHQUIN was to secure a cessation with the Irish for six months; for which he had before consented that Colonel BARRY should treat. The Colonel attended the Supreme Council with propositions upon that subject for a week; but did not find that readiness to it in them which he had expected. This was owing to the Nuncio; who but three weeks before advised the making a cessation with JONES, or INCHQUIN. But since he found that the latter had declared himself for the King, he opposed a cessation with him in the most violent manner; declaring it to be against his conscience,

now



now his Lordship was returned to his loyalty. **BARRY** CHARLES I.  
 pressed the two Generals, Lord **TAAFE** and **PRESTON**,  
 to settle the cessation by their own authority; but fear-  
 ing their armies would not be proof against the excom-  
 munication which would be denounced, those Generals  
 durst not attempt it without the concurrence of their  
 Council. The Supreme Council were so pressed by  
 them, and by the Marquis of **CLANRICARDE**, to pro-  
 mote it, that they agreed to treat: and in order to give  
 the greater weight to their proceedings, they summoned  
 the provincial Assemblies of Leinster and Munster, and  
 the supernumerary members added to the Supreme Coun-  
 cil in case of absence, to give their opinion on this subject.  
 These bodies, having considered the present state of their  
 affairs, and the condition of the two provinces above-  
 mentioned, resolved unanimously that they were too  
 weak to oppose **JONES**, and **INCHQUIN**; and therefore  
 that a cessation with the latter was necessary; especially  
 since he had declared for the King, as he was a native,  
 and had an estate in the kingdom, and consequently  
 was better disposed than **JONES** to consult its interest.

No sooner was the Nuncio informed of this resolution,  
 than he posted away to Kilkenny to argue against it. But  
 he was driven to such shifts to make an opposition to it,  
 that he was obliged to forget that he had himself recom-  
 mended a cessation to them just before; and so now ar-  
 gued that it was unlawful to make truces with Hereticks,  
 and to leave any churches in the hands of Protestants.  
 But this was not all: he was more ridiculous yet than this.  
 He had before made Lord **INCHQUIN**'s return to his  
 loyalty the only objection to a cessation with him; and  
 now his other reason for opposing it, besides what hath  
 been mentioned, was, that the Marquis of **ORMONDE**,  
**INCHQUIN**, and Colonel **BARRY**, were secretly in the  
 interest of the Parliament, though they appeared so ze-  
 alous for the King. He then appealed to the two Generals  
 whether there was any necessity for a truce; and they  
 both giving it against him, and their Council sending a-  
 gents to Lord **INCHQUIN** to conclude it, the Nuncio had  
 recourse to his usual practice. He got the Catholic Bi-  
 shops to his house: and undertaking to pay **ONEIL**'s army  
 out of the Pope's money, which army, he said, was able  
 to destroy both **INCHQUIN**'s, and **JONES**'s, and that he  
 would himself bear the burden of the Munster war, he  
 prevailed with them to sign a remonstrance against  
 the

the cessation. Five of these, with two others, signed another paper; delegating their power to the Nuncio and four Prelates more, to do in their absence what they themselves might do in matters of religion, in the declaration against the cessation, and in confirming the declaration by ecclesiastical censures.

The agents which had been sent to Lord INCHQUIN returned without concluding the treaty, not being able to adjust the quarters for both parties: but TAARF made a truce with him for fourteen days; and the Munster Assembly then sitting wrote a letter to their Council, insisting on the cessations being no longer delayed on a trifling dispute of two baronies. The Supreme Council were apprehensive from this letter, that if the cessation was delayed the Munster Gentlemen would immediately make a private agreement with INCHQUIN, which would ruin the confederacy. On this apprehension they consulted their Bishops; who had no expedient to offer but making a cessation with JONES, and calling O NEIL into Munster to oppose Lord INCHQUIN. The first part had been obviated already in answer to the Nuncio; and O NEIL had made such havock in Leinster, that the people of Munster would as soon have admitted a body of Tartars as his army. However if the Clergy could shew any way how an offensive war could be carried on in one province, and a defensive in the other, their Council offered to decline the cessation: but the Bishops confessing themselves unable to shew any such way, the Council sent their agents again to renew the treaty. The Nuncio, finding this resolution taken, stole privately from Kilkenny, and went to O NEIL. The Supreme Council sent two deputies to invite him back; and to propose to him, if he would lend them ten thousand pounds, to break off the treaty, and lay siege to Dublin. But he had no money, nor expectation of any; and yet he insisted that Lord TAARF and PRESTON should be displaced, and the Ulster army regularly paid; and be assigned good quarters. Other extravagant propositions of submitting every transaction civil and military to the Clergy, convincing the Supreme Council that he was obstinately determined to go on in his own way, they confirmed the articles of the cessation agreed on by their agents on the twentieth of May, with a clause of mutual assistance against all such as should oppose it by force of arms; by that limitation not includ-

including the Clergy. For nothing could bring these people yet from the slavish submission of all that is dear to men, which they paid to their Ecclesiasticks.

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The Nuncio pursued his usual methods: he caused the declaration which the Bishops had signed against the cessation to be fixed on the doors of the Cathedral at Kilkenny; from whence it was pulled down by Dr. FENNEL. He summoned the four Prelates on whom the others had delegated their power; but three of them excused their coming, and recommended pacific measures; declaring for the cessation, of which he had imposed upon them a false account. Failing of this support, he called three others to him in their stead, and issued out an excommunication against all that adhered to or favoured the cessation: and interdicting all cities, towns, and places which had received it, forbade all divine offices to be performed in them. The man was weak and vain enough to expect, that these censures would have produced the same effect as those against the peace two years before: but the times and circumstances were altered; and he had not sense or temper enough to consider this difference, before he took a step which exposed him to contempt, and though it contradicted the instructions he had received from Rome. He had thundered out his censures on such trifling occasions, in civil and private concerns relating only to himself, that he had made them so cheap as they were but little regarded. Besides, in the former interdict and excommunication he was joined by several in a public congregation: he had now but four to support him, called privately together; and eight others had signed a paper justifying the cessation. On the thirty first of May, the Supreme Council appealed in form against his censures; and were joined by two titular Archbishops, twelve Bishops, and all the secular Clergy in their diocesses, by all the Jesuits, Carmelites, and five hundred of the Franciscans: the number, learning, zeal, and diligence of these Religious, in preaching, and other applications, in a great measure defeated the Nuncio's measures, and brought his party into discredit. It was likewise of some consequence that he had no money left; and he did not know how to raise any. But in truth, the whole nation had suffered so much by the divisions and miseries, which a breach of the peace, and the violent arbitrary measures of the Nuncio, had occasioned, that the people were ge-

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nerally disposed to pacific counsels. Lord TAAFE had so modelled his army, that all his Officers were excommunication proof. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE had a body of three thousand of the same temper: and if PRESTON and his Officers were not so hardened, they were better united than they had been, and were resolved to carry their point. They were encamped at Roscrea when the censures were published; and might easily have taken the Nuncio, and ONEIL, who were at Maryborough with only eight hundred men. But they contented themselves, in answer to his solicitations of standing by him, to desire he would not trouble them with any more letters, because they were determined to observe no orders but what came from the Supreme Council, whom they were sworn to obey; and then marched to Kilkenny. In this situation we must leave the affairs of Ireland for the present, in order to look into the negotiations which were carrying on by the agents in France, with the Queen, and the Prince of Wales.

It was the latter end of March when they arrived at the Court at St. Germain; and besides the public instructions which have been mentioned, Lord MUSKERY and Mr. BROWN had some private directions signed by Lord TAAFE, and PRESTON; to assure her Majesty and the Prince, of their unalterable fidelity and attachment to the Crown, and of their power, if they were properly supported by the royal authority, to destroy the party that endeavoured to introduce a foreign jurisdiction: but as there was no way so likely to reduce their country under the King's obedience, and to make it useful to him, as the Prince's coming over with money, and arms, and a resolution to gratify the moderate men of their party, so if his Royal Highness would condescend to take that measure, the Generals engaged to put such a body of forces under his command, as would not only settle Ireland, but afford such assistance also to England as might help to restore his Majesty to his rights. These were the instructions which the two agents just mentioned had most at heart: but they were obliged to join with the Marquis of ANTRIM in presenting the public propositions to the Queen, with which they were charged. They were to make no demand about religion till they heard from Rome; and their other propositions were wild and extravagant, but had nothing new in them. The Queen received the propositions very graciously, and desired

fired time to consider them. The Marquis of ORMONDE CHARLES I.  
 was very luckily arrived at Paris a little before the agents; A. 1648.  
 to whom she communicated their propositions, and by  
 whose advice she determined to give her answer; so that  
 what the King had absolutely refused, she might not be  
 drawn in to grant. The advice given by the Marquis,  
 was to express in strong general terms the King's gracious  
 inclinations to the settlement of that kingdom, on such  
 conditions civil and religious as should satisfy those who  
 desired a peace. A more particular answer, till the suc-  
 cess of other negotiations with the Scots and INCHQUIN  
 were known, his Lordship thought very improper. For  
 it was not only uncertain, whether any concessions in an-  
 swer to their propositions would satisfy, and whether  
 they would be of any use, but it was also certain that  
 they would be canvassed in their General Assembly, and  
 be objected to by those whose ambitions were not gratified.  
 To such a general answer there could be no exception  
 taken by the agents; who had declared they were not re-  
 ady to make their demands on the point of religion, till they  
 had heard from Rome; though the point of the greatest  
 difficulty of all, and on account of which, they said, the  
 late peace was broken. The Marquis thought it expe-  
 dient however to let them know, that the King would not  
 admit of the Pope's interposition in reconciling the diffe-  
 rence between his Majesty and his subjects; lest no objec-  
 tion being made to it, the disaffected might have a plausible  
 excuse for their delay, when any concessions should be  
 made them. But it is probable that this last advise,  
 which was so much for the King's honour to be taken,  
 did not suit with the Queen's bigotry, and her reverence  
 for the Holy See; which had always been such a dead  
 weight in his Majesty's counsels against his interest. For  
 the advice was not pursued.

On the tenth of May, the Irish agents had an audience  
 of the Queen; in which she desired to know, whether  
 they were ready to make their proposals about religi-  
 on, and whether they had power to alter, or recede from  
 the propositions they had given in, or could conclude up-  
 on them. The Marquis of ANTRIM answered in the  
 name of the rest, that they were not ready to propose  
 any certainty about religion, being directed in their instruc-  
 tions to be guided in that particular by the Pope: but that  
 they expected to hear very speedily from their agents at  
 Rome upon that point; and if her Majesty would be  
 pleased

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pleased to declare what she would grant in that particular, they were in hopes to make use of that concession for the King's service. As to the other propositions they were ready to proceed upon them whenever they were required. In three days after, the Queen dismissed them with an answer in writing, signed at the top by herself, and at the bottom by the Prince of Wales. In this paper, after reminding them very gently of their former infidelity in breaking the late peace, to which if the Catholicks had submitted according to their duty, it would have put them by this time in a happy state, "there was an assurance of great readiness to give them all the satisfaction in the power of the Queen, and Prince upon their propositions, consistently with the honour and interest of his Majesty, but as the agents were neither ready to make their proposals about religion, nor had such powers to alter, recede, or conclude upon the other points, as were necessary for a final settlement of their business, a more particular and conclusive answer could not be given. Nothing more could reasonably be expected now, but to assure them that the Queen and Prince would speedily give a power to such as they should approve of, to receive upon the place the full propositions of the Confederates, as well concerning religion and other public interests, as private grievances; who should be instructed to condescend to whatever might consist with justice, and the King's honour and interest, and thereupon to conclude finally with them."

It was obvious to common sense that the person to be empowered could be no other than the Marquis of ORMONDE; who was still Lord Lieutenant by the King's commission, and had authority under his Majesty's hand in his letters, though not in form under the great seal, to obey any directions he should receive from the Queen, and Prince of Wales, relating to Ireland; and which indeed was the only power which either of them had to give any directions. But it was thought prudential not to declare this, and to leave a door open for the Marquis of ANTRIM's imagination; to conceive from the favour he was in with the Queen—who had too good an opinion of him, says Lord CLARENDON—that he should be the great personage thus to be impowered. The two other Commissioners pressed privately, it being contrary to their instructions, for the Prince's going over; in order to make good Lord CLANRICARDE's engagement—  
already

already mentioned—and to reside among the Confede-<sup>CHARLES I.</sup>  
rates as their Governour, till every thing could be settled  
by Parliament. They did not fail to set out the happy  
success which must attend this measure, in breaking all  
the factions, and uniting the whole nation in his Majesty's  
interest. But if this request was not complied with,  
which they thought necessary to prevent the country from  
being wasted in the summer by war, and by famine in the  
winter, it was then desired, that some eminent person ac-  
ceptable to the nation might be deputed to command in  
chief, and make a peace. The Marquis of ORMONDE  
being brother in law to one of the agents, and highly es-  
teemed by the other, they were let into the secret that he  
was the person intended to be sent : and being assured that  
he should go over as soon as they could procure aids from  
the Court of France, the agents left Paris very well sa-  
tisfied with their negotiation. We must now turn to  
other affairs.

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The King was at this time under confinement in the isle  
of Wight ; the Parliament was governed entirely by the  
army ; and no care was taken by either for the relief of  
Ireland. Whilst the Parliament of Scotland were debat-  
ing whether they should enter into the engagement,  
which their Commissioners at London had made with  
the Marquis of ORMONDE for the King's service, his  
Lordship was endeavouring to procure supplies of arms  
and money from MAZARIN, in order to return to Ire-  
land, where his presence was so much called for. The  
Cardinal was ready at the first instance to make ample  
promises of every thing he desired : and the Marquis,  
who did not know him, and was himself free from all dis-  
simulation, thought he had nothing to do but to appoint  
a place for his embarkation where those supplies might be  
sent to meet him. In this sanguine expectation, he gave  
notice to Lord INCHICQUIN and his other friends, that he  
should soon be with them in Ireland, with a notable sup-  
ply of money, arms, ammunition, and some good officers ;  
and accordingly prepared his own accommodations. But  
he had cause soon to find that there were but little hopes  
to be entertained of assistance from that quarter. When he  
informed Lord INCHICQUIN of his disappointment, upon  
whom his greatest dependance was in Ireland, his Lordship  
pressed him very earnestly to come over, though without  
any assistance ; and in the mean time that his Excellency  
should inform his friends among the Irish, who disliked the  
the

**CHARLES I.** the Nuncio, to consult secretly with his Lordship for the King's service, to which they did not know that he was now inclined. Though he was at this time so solicitous for the Lord Lieutenant's coming over, even without assistance, yet he had at first insisted on his Excellency's bringing six thousand pounds; as the lowest sum that was necessary to provide for his forces, and to preserve their affections entire for his Majesty's interest. In order therefore that these forces should not be disappointed of their relief, the Marquis of ORMONDE, besides his application to the French Minister, moved the Court of S. Germain's to furnish the necessary supplies, as well as the instructions for his expedition to Ireland. The little money the Queen had at command was in the hands of Lord JERMYN, who, let what would happen, was always determined not to want himself; and was averse therefore to part with any sums that might expose the Queen's Court to difficulties, no matter what were the distresses of the public service. It was for this reason the beginning of August, before the Marquis could receive any money to begin his journey: even then the whole sum that was promised, for it was not all then paid, was only three thousand six hundred pistoles: and he was obliged to leave Sr. G. HAMILTON behind to receive the remainder. We must leave him under the mortification of being obliged to stay some weeks at Havre-de-Grace, and attend to what had passed in Ireland.

The Nuncio, and O'NEIL, having been in some danger, as it hath been said, of a surprise at Maryborough, the latter retired into Connaught and Ulster, where most of his forces were then quartered, in order to strengthen his army. The Nuncio made his retreat first to Athlone, and thence to Galway; where the Mayor had attempted to proclaim the cessation, but was hindered by the mob. All the other great towns however in the Irish quarters, except Wexford which was presently reduced, received it very readily. The Nuncio, seeing those censures now despised which had formerly carried all before them, endeavoured to make them more effectual by engaging the Clergy to confirm them in a body. With this view, he called a synod to meet at Galway in the middle of August; but the Supreme Council forbidding the Clergy to repair thither, and ordering all civil and military officers to stop their passage, he could not get a sufficient number



ber of them together. This step enraged him: and finding the inhabitants for the most part approving the cessation, he put an interdict on the churches and chapels there, causing the doors to be shut up: but the titular Archbishop of Tuam procured them to be opened by force, which created such a bustle that one or two people were killed. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE made a paper war upon the Nuncio, in remonstrances, and admonitions; but these being ineffectual to convince him, though he could not answer them, his Lordship shut him up in Galway, by besieging it. Besides his own forces, the Marquis had the command of all the confederate army in Conaught conferred upon him; and, being joined by some of Lord INCHIQUIN's army, had lately taken the castle of Athlone. Having afterwards recovered some other castles which O NEIL had taken, he drew his forces about Galway, hindering all access of provisions by land and water; so that the besieged were forced to proclaim the cessation, to pay a considerable sum of money, and to renounce the Nuncio and his adherents.

In the beginning of September, the General Assembly of the Catholics met at Kilkenny; and consisted mostly of Members that were well disposed to a peace. They had readily approved a cessation with Lord INCHIQUIN as absolutely necessary to their safety; and returned the Supreme Council thanks for their conduct in that affair. They had invited the Nuncio and his adherents to pacific measures; but he still exerted himself at Galway and other places to raise new disturbances. He published a declaration, "that it was a mortal sin and perjury to suffer the cessation to be proclaimed, and that all persons were obliged to lose both lives, goods, liberties, and every thing that was dear to them in this world, rather than obey it." In answer to this, the Assembly published a counter declaration; in which they unanimously condemned the Nuncio's, "as wicked, malicious, traitorous, repugnant to all laws divine and human, and tending to the utter subversion of the Government in church and state." On the last day of September, they publicly proclaimed O NEIL a rebel and a traitor; and yet they were still afraid of his power, and desirous to keep measures with the Clergy. For after this proclamation, he and his principal officers joined in a letter to the Assembly, desiring a safe conduct for a certain number of them to lay their grievances before the Assembly, and to impeach  
some

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some of the members of the Supreme Council : and notwithstanding the insolence of this application, it was with the utmost difficulty that Lord TAFFE could prevent their receiving into their protection a proclaimed traitor ; and tho' by remonstrating against him freely, he succeeded so far as to get O NEIL himself, and such as had been proclaimed rebels, excluded out of the safe conduct, yet it was granted to any other four of his officers.

It is pretty clear from this proceeding of the Assembly, if they had not been supported by the additional forces of Lord INCHQUIN and the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, that O NEIL, and the Nuncio would have carried their point, as they did before. But the Lord Lieutenant's arrival at this time, and some successes in Wexford, gave the Assembly fresh courage. The Marquis of ANTRIM was returned from the negotiation in France, highly piqued and disappointed at not being made Lord Lieutenant ; of which his vanity had led him to be very desirous, and his own conceit, and the Nuncio's flattery, very confident. In resentment of this neglect, he set himself to oppose the cessation with a regiment of Highlanders which he had brought the year before from Scotland, and with the Cavenaghs, and Byrnes, in the county of Wexford. But they were totally routed by some of the forces of the Confederates ; and ANTRIM himself went to Dublin, and entered into measures with JONES, who escorted him into Ulster. The Catholics in that province chose him for their General in chief ; and O NEIL submitted to act under him as his Lieutenant : but not performing the mighty promises he had made to bring all the Gentlemen of the North into their party, the good understanding between him and O NEIL was soon at an end ; he was turned out of his command, despised by all the world, and found incapable of doing either good or harm but in the odious way of treachery. The Assembly had broke the ice with O NEIL, as we have seen ; and they now assumed courage enough, upon the Marquis of ORMONDE's, arrival, to draw up a charge against the Nuncio, for " the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had been continually for three years past acting within the kingdom, to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the See of Rome." With this charge, Sr. R. BLAKE the chairman of the Assembly, a man of great activity, prudence and integrity, sent him an admonition to repair to Rome for his

his defence against it, and to intermeddle no more in the affairs of Ireland. Copies of these papers were at the same time sent to the Mayor of Galway; with express directions on pain of high treason to hold no correspondence with, nor to favour nor obey any censures, decrees, or public acts of the Nuncio, and his adherents.

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Colonel JONES having intelligence of these distractions among the rebels, thought it time to be stirring out; and therefore sent some of his forces to recover a few small garrisons which had formerly been surpris'd by the Irish. But he was afraid to stir himself, lest some of his principal officers, who had served under the Marquis of ORMONDE, and still retained their affection to him, should deliver up Dublin to his Excellency, then every day expected. Wherefore JONES, for the better security of the place when he should be absent, seized the principal officers whom he suspected, and sent them prisoners into England; upon no other grounds than his own jealousy and misrule; securing several others in the castle. The Scots, having weakened the garrisons of Belfast, Colerain, and Carrickfergus, in order to join their national troops that were sent into England, MONCK, who had been made Governour of Ulster by the Parliament, formed a scheme to surpris'e those towns: indeed he surpris'd Carrickfergus so effectually, that coming to it before break of day, and finding the gates open he entered without resistance, and seized Major General MONROE, whom he sent prisoner into England, and whom the Parliament shut up in the Tower. The other two towns surrendered without any trouble. At the same time, he established garrisons on the frontiers of Ulster to prevent the incursions of the Irish; and gave the quarters the Scots had, to such of the old British as he found well affected to the English Parliament. For these services they sent him five hundred pounds, made him Governour of Carrickfergus, and remitted five thousand pounds to be equally distributed to the forces in Connaught and Ulster.

In the mean time O NEIL assembled his army, and made an offer to agree with Lord INCHQUIN to leave all Munster to him, if his Lordship would not disturb him in the other provinces; but his offer was rejected. He then made a cessation with JONES; who was not so sure of his own army as he wished, and was willing enough to encourage the Irish to destroy one another. O NEIL was enabled by this cessation to secure the families and herds of his Creaughts, and to march again with all his forces

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ces into Leinster. But being disappointed of his design to surprise Kilkenny and to seize the Supreme Council, which some had undertaken to betray to him and were discovered, he wasted the lands of Lord MOUNTGARRET, took the castle of Nenagh, and found means to surprise fort Falkland on the side of the Shannon. From thence he marched to the relief of Athy, then distressed by PRESTON, who on his approach raised the siege. He was intending to prosecute the war on that side, in order to favour JONES's reduction of Ballysonan and other places; when an express brought him word that Lord INCHQUIN had recovered Nenagh and blocked up fort Falkland. Upon this advice, he marched back with all expedition to Ballaghmore—since called OWEN ROE's pass—and there encamped, with a design to cut off Lord INCHQUIN's provisions, and to starve his army. In this manner they lay near one another without any action for a fortnight; when O NEIL was caught in the snare he had laid for another. For the Marquis of CLANRICARDE coming up to the assistance of Lord INCHQUIN O NEIL was streightened to such a degree, that his army must literally have been famished, if they had not met with some green corn to subsist on, and which was their only sustenance. Lord INCHQUIN offered him battle; but notwithstanding his distress he refused it, being much weaker in horse than his enemy, and in great want of powder. Whilst the two armies were facing one another, a party of four hundred horse fell upon his camp, and was near bringing off his artillery. Upon this Lord INCHQUIN formed a design to attack his camp before day; but O NEIL having notice of it marched off in the night, leaving an empty camp, and with a considerable loss retired into the county of Cavan; where he continued till the spring without any action, except laying part of Westmeath under contribution.

In this situation of affairs, on the last day of September the Marquis of ORMONDE returned to Ireland, and landed at Cork; where he was received with all the respect due to the dignity of a Lord Lieutenant, by the Major General, and the officers left there by Lord INCHQUIN, who was not then returned from his expedition against O NEIL. Of the money which he had received in France, to prepare ships, and ammunition, and arms for this expedition, he had but thirty pistoles when he landed left in his pocket. Unqualified to answer the expectation of a needy army, or to remove their wants, he was forced to pay

pay them with promises, and by pretending to have bills of exchange on merchants at other ports—a stratagem suggested by Lord INCHQUIN—till he could raise some money on his own credit to satisfy them. A part of the English fleet had revolted from the Parliament; and the Prince of Wales, to whom they had surrendered, had assured the Marquis of their being sent to some of the ports of Munster, victualled and paid for four months; and that they should convoy a number of merchant ships laden with corn, under a dearth of which the province and the army suffered extremely. The fleet would not only have given a great countenance to the service, but by bringing in of prizes continually would have contributed also to the relief of a wasted country.

The King was engaged at this time in the treaty with the Parliament in the isle of Wight; and on the ninth day of October, the Commissioners had desired his Majesty to give his assent to the propositions concerning Ireland: particularly that an act of Parliament should be passed, “to declare and make void the cessation of Ireland, and all treaties and conclusions of peace, or any articles thereupon with the rebels, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament; and to settle the prosecution of the war in Ireland in both Houses of Parliament in England to be managed by them; and his Majesty to assist, and to do no act to discountenance or molest them therein: to which proposition his Majesty gave his consent as desired. But on the next day after presenting this proposition, and his consenting to it, the King wrote the following letter to the Marquis of ORMONDE; to be found in CARTE’s collection.

ORMONDE,

Left you might be misled by false rumours, I have thought fit by this to tell you my true condition. I am here in a treaty, but such a one, as if I yield not to all that is proposed to me, I must be a close prisoner, being still under restraint. Wherefore I must command you two things: first to obey all my wife’s commands; then not to obey any public command of mine until I send you word that I am free from restraint. Lastly be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland; for that they will come to nothing. This is all at this time from  
Your most real, faithful, constant friend,

Newport in the isle of Wight,  
Oct. 10, 1648.

CHARLES, R.  
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Though this letter may seem a contradiction to the proposition which the King had agreed to the day before, yet it must be observed in his favour, that he had stipulated with the Parliament at the entering of this treaty, that nothing should be binding upon him or made use of to his prejudice, unless all was concluded; and it was easy enough for him to see by this time, that nothing was less intended by the Parliament than a peace. Here was a fresh authority however for the Marquis of ORMONDE to obey the directions he should receive from the Queen; which, upon his reassuming his post of Lord Lieutenant, and his power of making a treaty with the Irish being dissolved by the late peace, seemed to be necessary: for this power therefore he had applied to the King, by letter; but his Majesty had not received the application when he wrote the Marquis the letter above. The only possible means of extricating the King out of his present difficulties—and they seem not to have been very probable—was uniting all Ireland under his obedience. To this end the Marquis of ORMONDE returned thither; after having settled with the Scotch Commissioners and some of his Majesty's friends in England, a conjunction of their forces when the army from Scotland for the King's service should arrive in England. In a few days after the Marquis landed, he published a declaration, in order to satisfy the army under Lord INCHQUIN, and the Protestants in the Province of Munster. After mentioning his delivering up Dublin to the Parliament, in hopes that upon a happy composition of affairs then expected it might revert to his Majesty, but was now unhappily devolved on those who intended to subvert the monarchy, the Marquis then proceeds to mention in the declaration the sense he had of the merit of that army in disclaiming all obedience to those usurped powers, and the King's gracious acceptance of their fidelity to him. Out of a special regard therefore to their integrity and to their former sufferings, and out of a desire to prevent all distrust from former differences of judgment, his Excellency thought himself obliged thus publicly to declare, that he was qualified with special authority from his Majesty to assure them, that no distinction should be made on any such account, but that all persons now engaged in the cause should be treated with equal regard and favour. Moreover, he assured them on his own part, that no past difference of action or opinion should be remembered by him

him to the prejudice of any member of the army ; but that he would do to every one of them all the good that was in his power, use his utmost diligence to provide comfortably for their subsistence, and in return expected nothing but an honest perseverance in their present engagement to serve the King with alacrity and affection.

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Having published this declaration, the Marquis signified to the General Assembly—sitting then, as we have seen, at Kilkenny—that he was arrived with power to treat and conclude a peace with the Confederate Catholics ; and pursuant to the paper delivered to their agents at S. Germain's, that he expected to receive deputies and propositions from them at his house at Carrick. This place lying nearer to Kilkenny, than Corke where he had landed, and the King's service requiring the greatest dispatch possible, his Excellency thought to be fitter for the place of treaty ; his late experience having convinced him, that he could not conclude it effectually with any other power than the representative body of the Confederates. On the eighteenth of September, they appointed their Commissioners : though the Marquis had always objected against treating with Ecclesiasticks, and had obliged them before to recede in that point, yet they named a Bishop in the commission ; and the Marquis, being determined to comply with them in what he could, hoping to make them moderate on their side with him, consented. But instead of this moderation, they were resolved to proceed upon the plan of former Assemblies, and insisted on the same propositions that had been sent by their agents to France and Rome ; that if they were rejected they might at least say they had endeavoured to obtain them.

The stiffness of the General Assembly in returning the same propositions that had been offered and refused, was no good presage to the Lord Lieutenant that he should be able to conclude such a treaty with them on the article of religion, as would give them contentment, and not disgust the Protestants : and yet such was the situation of public affairs, that without an union of both these, nothing could be done for the King's service. The insurrections raised in his favour in England since his confinement were all quelled ; and the army and Independents were absolute masters of the kingdom. The forces that had marched from Scotland under Duke HAMILTON, were either cut off, or sold to serve abroad. Colonel MONCK had got pos-

session

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session of all the North of Ireland, and of all the forts in Ulster that were in Protestant hands; and the Munster forces under Lord INCHQUIN were far from being all of them thoroughly pleased. Among the Officers of his horse indeed there were great caballing and disaffection; intending to march in a body into Leinster to join with JONES, and if they could not make their way to his quarters, to go to O NEIL. But Lord INCHQUIN having discovered the plot, and sent notice of it to the Marquis of ORMONDE, care was taken to stop their passage; and finding then that their scheme was frustrated, the Officers thought it the best way to submit, to profess a repentance for their past unsteadiness, and promise future constancy. Lord INCHQUIN thought it improper to use severity towards them at that juncture, whilst there was a general uneasiness in his forces, on account of some unfavourable reports about the terms of the peace; wherefore he pressed the Marquis of ORMONDE in the strongest manner to repair immediately to his assistance, either to quiet the distraction of his forces, or to enable him to secure the heads of the faction against the peace.

The Marquis of ORMONDE was at that time at Kilkenny, whither the Assembly had invited him for the quicker dispatch of the treaty; and was debating and adjusting the propositions of the Irish with great hopes of success. This importunity therefore of Lord INCHQUIN threw him into great perplexity. If he did not go to satisfy the officers, that the terms of the peace in agitation were honourable to the King, and safe for his Protestant subjects, that army might be lost, or thrown into a confusion that would be irretrievable. On the other hand, if he put such a sudden delay to the treaty when the Assembly were in so good a temper, the Confederates might imagine there was no intention of concluding any agreement with them, or that it was to give way to contenting the army, which might incline them to dissolve the Assembly; and then all thoughts of coming to a peace with the Irish must be laid aside for ever. On a thorough deliberation within himself, he determined to risk the delay of the treaty, rather than the army should be lost: and till he could get to Corke, he advised Lord INCHQUIN to provide for the removal of those Officers who had occasioned the late disturbance, that they might not have it in their power to make another; for which no doubt they were watching a more convenient opportunity. This removal, he  
said,



said, would facilitate the satisfaction of the well disposed ; CHARLES I.  
and was necessary for their own security, as well as to  
convince the Confederates of the sincerity of their pro-  
ceedings with them. To these the Marquis represented  
the necessity of giving contentment to the army: and  
such were his admirable talents of persuasion, and so great  
was the credit which the steadiness and fidelity of his  
transactions with them had gained him with the principal  
persons of that body, as that he prevailed with them to  
consent to the delay of the treaty for fourteen days.

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Conformably to this agreement the Assembly engaged  
to continue sitting during the recess; and ordered that no  
member should depart out of the city without leave of  
the chairman, nor any leave be given but on a promise in  
writing to return by the end of that time. At this juncture,  
arrived the titular Bishop of Fernes and MR.  
PLUNKET, the agents which had been sent from Rome,  
with an account of their negotiation at that court. Little  
more was contained in it, than that having represented to  
his Holiness the deplorable condition of their kingdom,  
the little hopes they had of preserving either their religion  
or their nation without good supplies, and the reason  
they had to expect them from him, according to his  
Nuncio's engagement to their Assembly, they waited  
four months before they could get any answer at all. At  
last upon their importunity, they were told that the Pope  
had as yet received no account how the money was dis-  
posed of that he had already sent; that there was a great  
dearth of corn about Rome which he must supply; that  
the treasury was empty, the See in debt, and the Cardinals  
scarce able to maintain their families; therefore no  
supply could be expected there: that if the Nuncio had  
engaged for any such thing, he had done it without any  
commission, his Holiness being resolved to give no money  
on the event of war; and that, as it was not proper for  
him to appear in expressing his sense of the conditions fit  
to be demanded for their religion, so he left them at liberty  
to proceed as best suited the good of the kingdom.  
This account putting an end to all expectations of foreign  
succours, occasioned very serious reflections on their  
condition; and disposed every one to moderate their  
propositions for a peace so necessary to their preservation.

When the Marquis of ORMONDE got to Corke, he  
used his endeavours so successfully in conjunction with  
Lord INCHQUIN, that they quieted entirely the distrac-

**CHARLES I.** tions of the army. What facilitated their work, was the arrival of instructions and dispatches from the prince of Wales; in which there was an assurance that the fleet was coming into those parts with supplies of ammunition and provision for the forces there. This of itself was sufficient to raise the spirits of the soldiery: but when it was added, that the Duke of YORK would come with the fleet, and the Prince himself probably after as soon as he had recovered strength enough from the small pox, there was no more fear of a mutiny or disaffection among the forces. The coming of the Prince was on many accounts of so much advantage, that the Marquis of ORMONDE thought it his duty to press it at this time very warmly; but, as the reader will find, it did not take place. His Excellency leaving the Munster army very well pacified, returned within the time he had appointed to Kilkenny. But he was immediately taken so ill, that he could not give in his answer to the propositions that had been delivered till the nineteenth of December. In the interim he received an answer to the application he had made to the King for a fresh authority, in the following letter, in CARTE's collection.

### ORMONDE,

I hope before this, mine of the tenth of this month will have come to your hands. I sent it by the way of France. This is not only to confirm the contents of that, but also to approve of certain commands to you: likewise to command you to prosecute certain instructions, until I shall under my own hand give you other commands: And though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at least most likely to be concluded, yet believe it not; but pursue the way you are in with all possible vigour. Deliver also that my command to all your friends, but not in a public way, because otherwise it may be inconvenient to me, and particularly to INCHQUIN. So being confident of your punctual observance of these my directions, I rest

Your most real, faithful, constant friend,

Newport Saturday  
28th Oct. 1648.

CHARLES R.

When

When the Parliament had received intelligence, that the Marquis of ORMONDE was arrived in Ireland with a power to treat and conclude a peace with the Irish rebels, the Commissioners attending the King desired his Majesty's public declaration against any such power, and against the proceedings of the said Lord ORMONDE. To this the King replied, "that since the first votes passed for the treaty—in August—he had not transacted any affairs concerning Ireland, but with you the Commissioners in relation to the treaty itself." If this is not a contradiction to the letter above, and to the other of the tenth of the same month before recited, it is surely a very deceitful equivocation unworthy of a King, and inconsistent with the character of "a candid, sincere, upright man," and "who was incapable of dissimulation." On the twenty-fifth of November, his Majesty consented to write another letter to the Lord Lieutenant; acquainting him with the informations which he had received from the two Houses of Parliament, concerning his Lordship's proceedings with the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland, and requiring him to desist from any further transactions with them. The King knew, when he wrote this letter, that he had forbidden the Marquis to obey any public command from him whilst he continued under restraint: and this direction being contrary to the two private letters which he had just before received, his Excellency proceeded to carry on the treaty, and to give his answer to the propositions that had been delivered.

Among these propositions there were some that were new—such as insisting that the succeeding Lieutenants should be Roman Catholicks—others that were impossible to be assented to, and a great many that were unreasonable. This was owing to the different passions, humours, interests, and designs of the several persons who composed the Assembly: and though the majority were well enough inclined to peace, yet there were several who endeavoured all they could to obstruct it: and therefore got such propositions to be inserted as they knew would not be granted. But the report made by the agents of the negotiation at Rome had contributed very much to lower the pretensions of the Confederates. The Marquis of ORMONDE, when he gave his answer, agreed to repeal the penal statutes which restrained the Papists from the free exercise of their religion, and to exempt them from the oath of supremacy: And though he did not

consent

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consent to grant them the churches and benefices of which they were in possession, yet he assured them that they should not be molested, nor the exercise of their jurisdiction restrained, till his Majesty, upon a full consideration of their desires in a free Parliament in that kingdom, should declare his further pleasure. The Assembly voted this answer unsatisfactory; and it was debated several days between the Lord Lieutenant and the Commissioners, with so much obstinacy on their side, that he almost despaired of any success. This led him to remonstrate with them very freely on their desperate situation, without any visible human means, except by a peace, of being saved from utter destruction; and that whosoever retarded or opposed it upon any pretence, contributed as much as in them lay, if not maliciously, yet for selfish and ambitious ends, to the subversion of monarchy, the extirpation of Popery, and the slavery of the kingdom to an usurped power.

It may be doubted whether this representation from the Marquis, which contained some remembrance also of their past behaviour, and which he pressed home upon their consciences, would have had the effect which he desired: but the remonstrance of the English army about a month before, which had been reprinted and sent by Lord INCHICUIN to Kilkenny, and which required the Parliament to bring the King to justice, and to establish anarchy, had opened their eyes; and they began then to see their ruin in the destruction of the King. A remonstrance, so openly avowing the subversion of every thing that had been known for government in these nations, raised the utmost abhorrence in all parties. Its effect in Ireland was very considerable: it not only silenced all complaints in the Protestant army, but it removed most of the difficulties, which the Papists, in their zeal and bigotry for their religion, had thrown in the way of peace. The Assembly therefore “in consideration of his Majesty’s present condition, and their own hearty desires of spending their lives and fortunes in maintaining his rights and interest, resolved unanimously to accept of the Marquis of ORMONDE’s answer to their propositions for religion.” The Bishops however made a difficulty of approving it; but when they saw the Assembly were determined to rest satisfied with it, in whatever manner they might declare themselves, they thought it best for them to concur in the approbation of it. Another difficulty

culty arose about the interval government—as it was called—till a full settlement in Parliament: and as it was necessary to establish some course for the assistance of the forces, the Marquis of ORMONDE called Lord INCHICQUIN to his assistance upon that, and all the other articles.

As they take up seventeen pages in folio they could not be adjusted very speedily; and as they were but little or not at all carried into execution, the reader will not expect to find them here. The Lord Lieutenant had no doubt an instruction from the Queen and Prince, with his Majesty's knowledge and consent—of which a hint is given in the last recited letter—to conclude a treaty with the Irish Catholics upon these conditions: but they were so much to their advantage, and to the dissatisfaction of the Protestants, that they were very near as obnoxious as the Earl of GLAMORGAN's treaty. The famous MILTON published very severe observations on these articles of peace; and even in the preamble to the act of settlement by CHARLES the Second, the conditions are styled difficult. In short they give so much power to Papists who had been rebels, in the civil and military branches of Government in a Protestant State, that no commands of the King himself, nor any other circumstance whatever, could excuse the Marquis of ORMONDE for consenting to them, but a conviction that a peace in Ireland at that juncture, was the only possible means of preventing the subversion of the whole frame of Government. Indeed he owns himself in a letter to the Prince, "that for want of force to keep any dependant on the King's authority only, and for obtaining such a peace as might reduce the army and the Confederates under the King's obedience, he had been constrained to subject his Majesty's power, against his will and not without some violence to his own nature, to compliances agreeable with neither." Among these articles, which were of such serious consequence to the Protestants, there was one of a very ludicrous nature, which shewed the strong propensity of the Irish to retain their old barbarous customs. As nothing could bring them to break these customs but acts of Parliament, so now that they might return to them, it was agreed by one of the articles of this treaty, that the acts which had prohibited the ploughing with horses by the tail, and the burning of oats in the straw instead

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instead of threshing them out, should be repealed. The great point proposed by the Marquis of ORMONDE in this peace, was to send an army of above twenty thousand men immediately into England, in order to prevent the impending fate of his Royal Master. This was certainly the Marquis's motive in concluding a treaty so dishonourable to the King, and of such disadvantage to his Protestant subjects; and in this view we must acquit him of all ill attention to his country, or his religion. But in my opinion there is not such another instance to be given of the weakness or the want of discernment in his Excellency, as to depend upon a people who had so often failed him; and not to see that the terms which he had granted them, and the scheme which he proposed, would much rather hasten than prevent his Majesty's ruin. No wonder that he was therefore disappointed in his expectation. The Irish had delayed the conclusion of the peace too long to render it of any service to the King, now brought to his trial; and they were extremely deficient in their promised proportions of men and money.

The articles having been read thrice, and fully debated, on the sixteenth of January it was resolved, " *ne mine contradicente*," that they should be established and confirmed by the Assembly. The next day they repaired in a body to the Lord Lieutenant in his castle of Kilkenny; where sitting on a throne of State, the articles of peace were presented to him by Sir R. BLAKE, the Chairman, with all imaginable solemnity, and in an elegant and loyal address. The Marquis then ratified them on his Majesty's behalf, and dismissed the Assembly with a long and excellent speech, full of good advice and instruction, and of that temper and moderation, of that loyalty to the King and affection to his country, which so eminently distinguished him throughout his life. The peace being thus concluded, which is called "the peace of forty-eight," was immediately proclaimed at Kilkenny with great joy, and in other places that were under the obedience of the King, and the Confederates. On one side, nine of the Irish Bishops joined in a circular letter to all the cities and corporations of their party; exhorting them to receive and obey the peace now concluded. On the other side, and on the same day the instruments were exchanged, the Marquis of ORMONDE published a declaration to vindicate the conditions granted to the Catholics;

tholics; none of whom, that had any hand in the barbarous and inhuman crimes which were committed in the beginning or course of the rebellion, were included in the act of oblivion that was to be passed: And as to those, to whom any peace at all with the Irish, or the terms of this peace might be distasteful, the Marquis added, "that he should call upon them to testify hereafter, that as the full benefits of it could not without great injustice, and somewhat of ingratitude—considering the greater the King's necessity was, the more seasonable was their submission—be denied them, so any blame of it ought to be laid upon those alone who have imposed the said necessity, the saddest to which any King was ever reduced." Another part of the declaration was calculated to shew the iniquity of the late remonstrance of the English army; which plainly discovered the design of the Independents to blow up the constitution, and to bury the King, episcopacy, and presbyterianism in its ruins. But the height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained: and we must leave Ireland for a while, and turn to the public trial and execution of their Sovereign. Nothing could be found in the common or statute law which could direct or warrant this proceeding: they were therefore to make a new form; and a new form they did make never heard of before, "an high Court of Justice to try his Majesty for high treason in levying war against his Parliament." The rest is too well known: I shall therefore drop the curtain, and conclude the book with a character of this unhappy Prince: and as I see no reason in this history to alter my opinion in his favour, I shall give the same character which I have given of him in another work already \*.

RAPIN hath observed, and I believe very justly, that there is not a fair and impartial English historian on this subject; at least I have never seen one. I am sensible therefore of the delicacy of the task I have undertaken; and that our attachment to party in this country, though very absurd, is yet so violent, that in giving a character of CHARLES the first, I shall be more likely to displease all, than to gratify any one denomination of English readers. But I am too far embarked on this sea already, and have proceeded with too much inte-

\* Ecclesiast. Hist. of England, Vol. II. A. 1757.

**CHARLES I.** grity and regard to truth in this history, to be terrified now with the apprehension of censure from party spleen: and yet I freely own, that I am not insensible to the conflict of the mind which every writer must feel, between the desire of pleasing, and the fear of offending by adhering strictly to the truth. Wherever I differ from other historians in the character of King CHARLES, as differ I do from every one that I have seen, I do it on a calm and candid examination of all the facts in his reign from which his character may be known, and not from the principles of government which he might practise, and of which I may disapprove: and if I had not known myself to be free from any of those attachments, which transport men with prejudice towards the persons they have occasion to mention, and whose actions they are at liberty to condemn, I would never have engaged in this undertaking. The temper of King CHARLES, is one of the few particulars relating to him, in which almost all historians are agreed: and if there are some inconsistencies in this temper they are not peculiar to this monarch, but such as are always to be met with in the human mind. He was very grave without any moroseness, stately without pride, patient in debate and yet hasty in determination, compassionate but not bountiful, condescending and yet inflexible, courageous but not enterprising, cheerful without gaiety, and of the same even disposition in all turns of fortune. He was unquestionably endowed with very good natural parts; and neither wanted a quick apprehension, a just discernment of men and things, nor a very solid judgment. But he had such a diffidence of his own abilities—and it was the leading step to his ruin—that he constantly submitted to the direction of those about him, though he had seldom any Minister to whom he was not superior in parts and knowledge. As his diversions were few, he applied himself much to study, and had a good taste of learning: but his skill in the liberal arts, especially architecture and painting, was very extraordinary for a Prince. He was more a master of the essentials of divinity than his father had ever been; but without the allay of pedantry. He spoke several languages correctly, and with a singular good grace; and his style was easy, strong, and clear when it was not intended to be ambiguous and equivocal. His principles of government were not what he had assumed, but what he had been educated in by his father; and though these tended



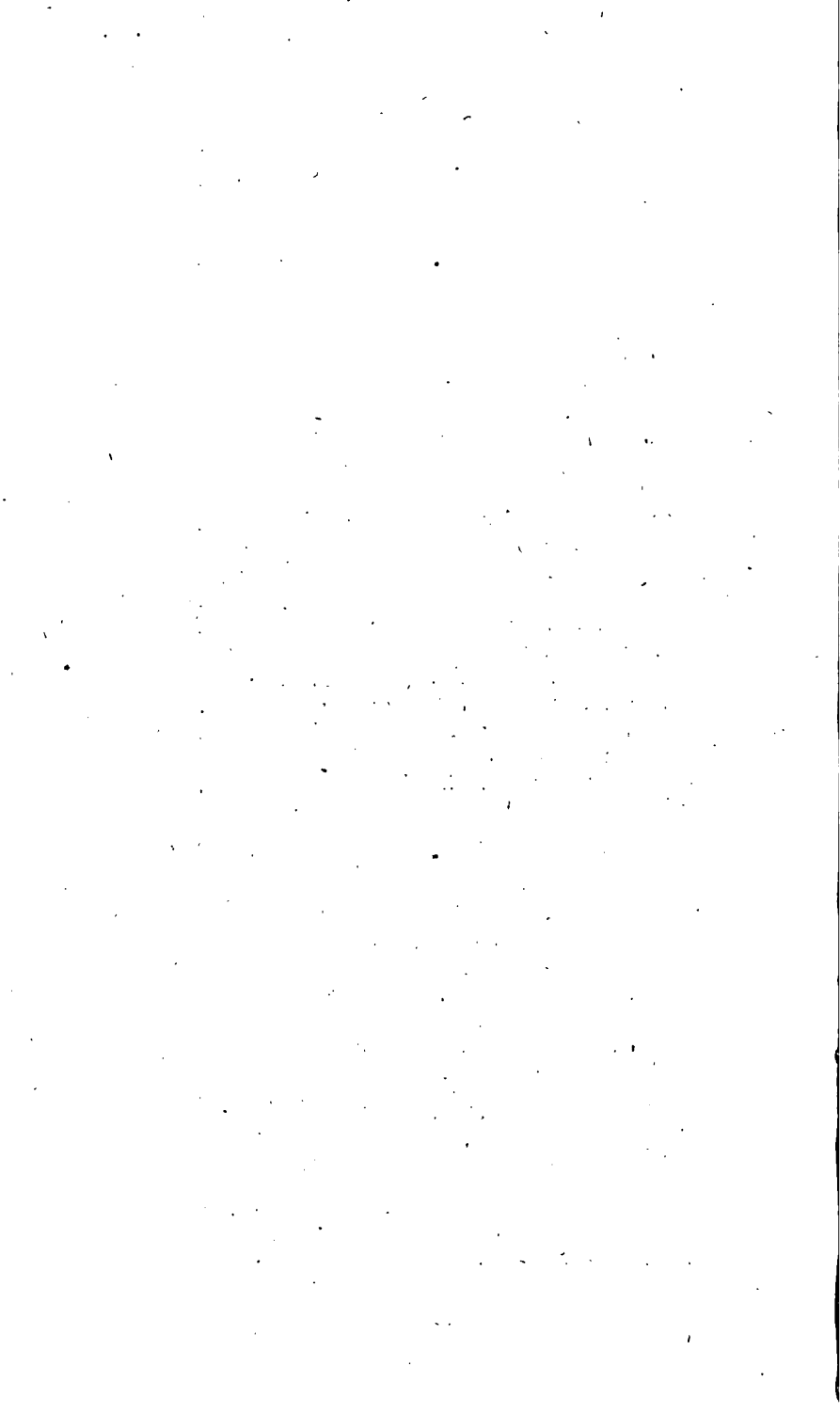
tended greatly to make him absolute, and to establish arbitrary power, in which he persisted for the first fifteen years of his reign, yet it must be considered in his favour, that the bounds of the prerogative were not so fixed and ascertained as they have been since; nor was the spirit of liberty in the Parliament so strong, and so general among the people. Here however was the great blemish of the life of CHARLES: and how criminal soever the Parliament were, when he had redressed the grievances they were oppressed with, and given all the security which he could give against any more, yet their opposition to him till that period, was the opposition of a brave people struggling for their rights and liberties against an arbitrary Prince, who made his will the law, and who intended to trample those rights and liberties under his feet. But as it often happens when we endeavour to get free from one extreme that we run into another, so the Parliament turned the tables upon the King: his Majesty became as much too supple as he had been before too arbitrary; and the Commons exercised the tyranny they had been contending against in the person of their Sovereign. The sincerity of King CHARLES's promises and declarations hath been called in question by many people; or as Mr. HUMPHREY expresses it, "some historians have rashly questioned his good faith:" and notwithstanding that Gentleman's opinion, "that the most malignant scrutiny into his Majesty's conduct affords not any reasonable foundation for this reproach," yet with submission I apprehend that this charge is just. I do not say indeed, as many writers do, that the King always made use of doubtful and ambiguous terms, reserving the explication of them as it might best suit his purpose, which is not very consistent with good faith, but it appears to me, I must own, that he sometimes used that artifice with a studied intention to deceive the Parliament. But however this might be, which I am willing enough to leave rather probable than undoubted, yet it is notorious that he broke his faith, in denying to the Parliament his commission to Lord GLAMORGAN to treat of the article of religion in a peace with the Irish rebels, in consenting to the repeal of the penal statutes against Irish Papists, in protecting and employing Papists, in compounding with recusants, and dispensing with the penal laws against them in England. Nor is it less notorious, that his Majesty broke his faith to the Parliament in

CHARLES I.

A. 1649.

**CHARLES I.** in the petition of right; and notwithstanding his assurances to the Commons of his intention to maintain their privileges, that he violated them within a few days after. The King indeed seems to have learnt a lesson from his misfortunes; which, if ever he had been restored to his throne, would probably have prevented this stain upon his honour for the remaining part of his life: because in the last letter which he wrote to the Prince his son, he charged him very solemnly, among other excellent advices, "that if he should be restored to his right upon hard conditions, whatever he promises he should keep." His Majesty had such a violent attachment to his Queen, that he could refuse her nothing: and he suffered more by her counsels after the commencement of the long Parliament, than by any indiscretions or ill intentions of his own. The personal virtues of this Monarch were very extraordinary. His justice, temperance, humanity, and forgiveness, made him amiable even to those who disliked the measures of his government; and had he been a private Nobleman, they would have rendered him very deservedly the delight of all mankind. In truth the King had but one vice, and that I may not leave it to be guessed at, I shall make no scruple to say, after the instances I have given, and others that occur in this history, that he was not faithful to his word and promises. But this perhaps did not merit the appellation of vice in the Court of **CHARLES**; though it is scarce conceivable how a King can have a quality much more criminal and pernicious. The regularity and the constancy of his Majesty's devotion, were to be equalled by nothing but his zeal for religion as it was established in the Church of England. His inclination therefore to Popery, though charged upon him in his reign, and by many historians since his death, is a malicious groundless imputation: and there never was a man, I believe, more sincerely attached to the Protestant religion, with some mixtures of superstition, than this Monarch was. The Roman Catholicks indeed, as I have said, out of a profound complaisance to his Queen whom he loved very passionately, and perhaps on some occasions from mistaken reasons of state, were not only screened from the rigour of the law, but encouraged and confided in. The King himself however was inflexible in his own religion: and this leads me to speak to that part of his character, in speaking of which I am sensible that the ground I tread on is extremely tender: but

but not to swerve from the rule of integrity which I <sup>CHARLES I.</sup> have professed to observe in this work, I presume to say <sup>A. 1649.</sup> that I see no pretence at all for giving King CHARLES the title of a MARTYR. The Protestant religion in opposition to Popery was never the thing in question; and there was too great a complication of causes which brought him to the scaffold, to ascribe it solely, or principally to religion. But should it be allowed that religion was the only cause of his execution, we must then distinguish it away to episcopacy and the liturgy, and say that he died a martyr to the church of England: and yet at the treaty of Newport, he had reduced and suspended episcopacy and the liturgy for three years, and in a great degree given them up. If he was a martyr therefore to any thing, it was to monarchy, which is absurd: the truth is, properly speaking, he fell a sacrifice to the rage, ambition, and enthusiasm, of some fanatic leaders in the army; who, proceeding from one licentiousness to another, had arrived at an implacable, republican, virulent spirit, regardless of all laws divine and human. But tho' there is a manifest impropriety in calling King CHARLES a martyr—for he bore witness to no truth by his death—yet it is but justice to him to say, that he had not only many amiable endowments as a man, and many noble accomplishments as a Prince, but that he had also so much zeal for his religion as to have died a martyr, if he had been called upon, to the truth of it. In short, how much soever our indignation may be raised against him for his misconduct in the former part of his reign, yet our humanity is so much shocked at the ignominious treatment which he met with in the latter part, and especially in the last melancholy and unheard of scene, that we are ready to overlook and to forget all his faults, in order to indulge our commiseration that so many virtues in him as a man, had not a happier fate as he was a Prince. His character shall be concluded in the words of his great friend and servant the Earl of CLARENDON. “He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced: and if he was not the greatest King, if he was not possessed of some parts and qualities which have made some Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.”





T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
R E B E L L I O N   a n d   C I V I L - W A R  
I N  
I R E L A N D.

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B O O K   V I I.

**T**HE proclamation of the peace, and the joy which it occasioned amongst the well affected was scarcely over, when Prince RUPERT came into Kinsale with sixteen men of war, which greatly heightened the general satisfaction. But this was soon clouded with an account of the ignominious death of the King. As soon as the Marquis of ORMONDE could recover from the concern into which it threw him, he caused the Prince of Wales to be proclaimed immediately by the style of CHARLES the second, in all the cities and towns that owned subjection to his authority. The Nuncio had hitherto lingered in the kingdom, waiting some favourable turn that might enable him to draw the nation once more into his measures ; but he had failed in all his expectations,

CHARLES  
II.

A. 1649.

CARTER.  
CLARENDON.  
CASTLEHAY.  
BORLASE.  
CLAWRICK.  
COX.  
LUDLOW.  
MORRICE.

CHARLES  
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petitions. He had seen the peace concluded, recommended by the Prelates and most of the Clergy, submitted to by all the kingdom except O NEIL's and the Parliament's armies, and proclaimed in all the great towns, even before his eyes at Galway: And now he saw the execution of the King received with such detestation universally among the Irish, that he judged they would all come in, and submit to the Marquis of ORMONDE. Things being brought to this crisis, and no power now remaining in him, he thought it was high time for him to leave Ireland, till he could be fortified with new authorities from Rome, and there was a greater probability of raising a new flame in the nation. Having sent directions to O NEIL to stand firm for the defence of the Pope's authority, on the twenty-second of February he went off at night in an obscure condition on board his frigate. In this manner was RINUCCINI, a Nuncio from the Pope, who had assumed to himself the supreme power over the Catholics of Ireland, in temporal and civil matters as well as ecclesiastical, who had held them in bondage for three years, who had been the cause of shedding the blood of many thousands slain in fighting his battles, who had put the whole kingdom into a flame, and who had been the principal occasion of the ruin of the King's, and even the Catholic interest there by his violence and superstition, compelled to seek his safety by stealing out of the kingdom: And all the satisfaction which the Papists received for these disorders, was this short reprimand from the Pope, "You have behaved yourself rashly," and the Nuncio's confinement to his archbishoprick for the rest of his life.

With what consent and amity soever the peace was made by those who had any pretence to trust or authority in the nation, yet O NEIL, who had the greatest influence on the old Irish, and who had still the best disciplined and the strongest army, refused absolutely to acknowledge it. The Lord Lieutenant was therefore to provide against him, as well as against the forces of the Commonwealth, who were possessed of Dublin and all the important places about it; and of whose supplies with men, and money, and ammunition, together with whatever else was necessary, there could not be any doubt. The Scots in Ulster, who abhorred the Republicans, and were not well with O NEIL, might give the Marquis some assistance, and they were numerous and well provided: but they were

were not inclined to the peace made with the Papists, nor to a full submission made to the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, as not being sanctified by the covenant. The Marquis of ORMONDE determined to try what he could do with all these several parties; and O NEIL had intimated obliquely to Lord CLANRICARDE, that he should not be displeased to be upon good terms with his Excellency. A treaty was therefore set on foot through his nephew DAN, O NEIL: but he insisted on such conditions for himself and his army, as those who were joined in authority with the Lord Lieutenant—called Commissioners of trust—who had always hated, and now began to despise O NEIL, were not willing to grant. The Marquis well knew the consequence of that General's agreement to the peace; that it would unite the whole nation in vigorous endeavours to promote it, and enable him without difficulty to drive the Commonwealth forces out of the kingdom. His Excellency therefore was for consenting to his conditions: but the Commissioners of trust—without whose concurrence by the articles of peace he could do nothing in it—were obstinate; and O NEIL's agents returned without any agreement. This was the first fruit of admitting the Confederates to a share of the Government with the Lord Lieutenant.

The scheme of securing O NEIL to his Majesty's interest proving abortive, the Marquis of ORMONDE tried next what he could do with JONES, and Sir C. COOTE. He wrote himself a kind letter to JONES, inviting him and his forces to return to their duty, and to submit to the King's authority. But JONES being influenced by his intimacy with CROMWELL and the great promises he had given him, pretended he was obliged in honour to obey those who had entrusted him with the command he held; and refused the overture. Sir C. COOTE had often openly professed, that if at any time he should discover the least inclination in the Parliament of England to change the government, or to wrong the King either in his person or posterity, he would sooner beg his bread than be a minister to their proceedings. Some of those who had been witnesses of this declaration thought it a proper time now to remind him of it; and it was judged adviseable that the Marquis of ORMONDE should write him a letter on the subject. The Marquis knew him so

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well, that he did not believe Sir CHARLES was to be gained; or if he should seem to be so, that he was to be trusted. In compliance however with the desires of the old Scotch Officers in Ulster, and that he might leave no stone unturned for the King's service. The Marquis wrote to COOTE; but it had no other effect than to produce protestations that had no meaning. To make some little amends for this ill success, several Officers of the old Scotch regiments in the North sent to assure the Lord Lieutenant of their duty to the King, and of a powerful body of forces devoted to his service; if his Excellency would send them commissions to authorize, and a body of a thousand horse, to support their undertaking. The Marquis was very agreeably surprised with this engagement, sent the Commissions desired, and assured them that Lord INCHQUIN should be with four thousand foot at Athlone, in order to march to their assistance very speedily, but the horse could not join them for want of grass. This advice had scarce reached those Officers before they found themselves necessitated to take arms, and to block up Sir C. COOTE in Derry.

The difficulties which the Marquis of ORMONDE had to struggle with at this time are hardly to be conceived. The expectations and ambitions of different persons for commands in the army did not a little perplex him, and disturb the service. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE saw so much of this emulation and selfishness when he was at Kilkenny on the conclusion of the peace, that as soon as he returned home, with a noble disinterestedness and love of his country—in which few have ever equalled, none have ever exceeded him—he sent his commission of Lieutenant General to the Lord Lieutenant, that he might make a friend with it. The Generals of particular provinces were now suppressed; so that there were fewer posts of that nature to be disposed of, and consequently fewer persons could be gratified, and more would be disgusted. The last was the case of several persons of quality whose affections were not well settled: but the Marquis of ORMONDE, though he was not accessary to these discontents, yet did not know how to avoid them; unless there had been posts enow to satisfy the pretensions of all who had interest and ambition. To add to these difficulties, Lord INCHQUIN had been allowed to retain the sole command and ordering of the forces and garrisons



garrisons which he brought with him to the King's obedience; and had almost the whole province of Munster assigned him for their maintenance: and though the Confederates had engaged to keep on foot an army of seventeen thousand five hundred men, yet pretending now that the provinces could not support them, a considerable number was disbanded, which joined O NEIL. The Commissioners of trust seemed more intent on getting honours, places, and employments, for themselves and their friends, than on the public service: they took but little care, either to raise the money apportioned upon the counties, or to fill the magazines, which his Excellency proposed to be erected, with corn and provisions for the army. When the month of March came, in which he proposed to take the field, they pleaded that it would require a great deal of time to collect the money; and that it would be better to borrow it of particular persons, cities, and towns, by mortgaging to them the King's revenues. In short they were so dilatory in their proceedings, that at the end of March, when Lord INCHQUIN was to be with his forces at Athlone, scarce any provisions had been sent into that magazine.

Nothing remained singly in the Lord Lieutenant's power but the private revenue of the Crown: with this the Commissioners of trust had nothing to do, and with this therefore, if with any thing, he was to make the best provision he could for an early campaign; on which the success of all his measures chiefly depended. With this view he went himself to Waterford, thence to Limerick, and thence to Galway; in which several places he procured a loan of more money, corn, and ammunition, than the Assembly had ever been able to do. But this cost him so much labour and time, and the supplies were so slowly advanced, that it was the beginning of May before he could draw his forces together. There was one remedy for all the inconveniences which he suffered, and he had pressed this on his first arrival, and again when the peace was finished, which was the King's repair into Ireland. If the reasons were good upon which he advised this before, when his Majesty was only Prince of Wales, they were much stronger now he had succeeded his father in the supreme authority. But the Scots having proclaimed him, and engaged to crown and receive him for their King, if he would come thither and take the Covenant, which they earnestly solicited, it was considered

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dered whether it would not be the best step his Majesty could take to go first and establish himself in Scotland. One would have thought there had been such a recent proof of their ignominious treatment, and their treacherous dealing in the person of the father, as to have deterred the King and his Council from entertaining any thoughts of putting the Son into the hands of the Scots. As soon as the Marquis of ORMONDE was informed that such a step was under deliberation, he wrote his sentiments to the King, and Sir E. HYDE; and they are the sentiments of a wise and faithful Councillor. In the end he said, "as the Covenant was inconsistent with the peace he had concluded, it was expedient that the Government of Ireland—by what Governors, and by what Council the King sees fit—should be immediately settled: and if his Majesty went into Scotland with intention to consent to the Covenant, and to the imposing of it on all his subjects, he must desire that any thoughts of employing him might be laid aside."

The King, upon the news of his father's death, immediately renewed the Marquis of ORMONDE's commission, and confirmed all that he had done in virtue of it: and when he received the articles of the late peace in a few days after, he sent an entire approbation of all and every part, and an assurance that he would make all the haste he could into Ireland. The advantages indeed of that measure were too visible to be denied. The power of the Commissioners of trust, with which the Lord Lieutenant was cramped and shackled, at the instant of the King's landing was to be at an end; the disputes about commands in the army would be prevented, or removed; the forces under JONES which were already deserting every day, and perhaps JONES himself, would probably come over to him; but it was very certain that O NEIL and his army would immediately submit: nay, they had already sent letters of credence to his Majesty, to assure him of their submission upon the terms of being concluded in the act of oblivion, of enjoying liberty of conscience, of O NEIL's commanding an army under the King's authority provided for like the rest, and of his being advanced to the dignity of an Earl. The desire of the last condition was probably suggested to him, by PRESTON's having been made a Viscount, and by obtaining eight hundred a year in lands to support the honour. Why these

these terms which O NEIL proposed, which would have secured all his army, were not complied with, does not appear. After what had been already consented to, there was nothing in them unreasonable, or improper: and if these terms had been granted, and the King had gone at this time to Ireland, he would probably in a few weeks have been master of the whole kingdom. But the King had not only factions in his Court to contend with—as all distressed, if not all other, Princes have—but also the want of money for procuring arms, and ammunition, and other necessities; and the jarring interests of these several factions, and the vain expectation of supplies in Holland where the King then was, proved of infinite detriment to his affairs.

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The reader hath been informed of the arrival of a fleet of sixteen ships in the ports of Munster soon after the death of the late King, under the command of Prince RUPERT; and he may wonder that he hath heard no more of it. The truth is, that as it was not subordinate to the Lord Lieutenant, nor subject to his orders, it was entirely useless as to any service he expected from it with respect to Ireland. The people who knew Prince RUPERT, and the fickle disposition of the Irish, knew this was a consequence to be expected. The Prince was very reserved and uncourtly in his temper; and ready to assume more authority than he had, or was consistent with the King's service: of a factious disposition himself, he encouraged it in his servants and officers under him; and they taking advantage of his rank, and thinking every thing was to give way to him, were careless in their behaviour, and unconcerned whether they pleased or displeased their superiors, though the best friends perhaps the King had. All this was visible in the late reign, when his Majesty had the authority of an uncle over him; and therefore the same, or much more, might be expected in the present reign, when the relation was lessened, and the King was very young. In a few days after the fleet came to an anchor, the Prince desired leave of the Lord Lieutenant to raise a thousand land-men for the better manning his ships: leave was granted immediately, the men were raised, and, contrary to the articles of peace, mass was said in the sea-ports: but this did not satisfy the Irish, nor the Prince's attendants: they behaved with such insolence to the Protestant soldiers and inhabitants, that it required all Lord INCHQUIN's

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prudence, application, and authority, to prevent great disturbance. The Prince himself held a correspondence with Lord ANTRIM, O NEIL, and the discontented Irish, which encouraged them to persist in their rebellious measures : he went much further : he ordered one of his gentlemen to write to a German engineer at Galway, who had served the Irish, that the Prince desired an instrument might be drawn and signed by such Officers and cavaliers as would serve their country, religion, and king, in an opposite way to the Lord Lieutenant and the present government ; and that upon the sight of such an authority from them, the Prince would furnish them with all necessaries by sea. Several Colonels, and other officers, signed an instrument accordingly ; and on the condition of being furnished with five hundred pounds, and the value of that sum in ammunition, undertook to bring five thousand men into the field. The Lord Lieutenant being informed of this combination, thought proper to write to the Prince upon it ; but in a manner as though he did not believe it had any other foundation than a contrivance of the engineer's to get a little money : the engineer denied the fact, and the Prince detained him in his service.

Whatever were the views of Prince RUPERT, it was very hard upon the Marquis of ORMONDE, to be engaged in a work, which, with all the assistance that could be given, seemed impracticable, and to be traversed in his measures by those from whom he had reason to expect assistance. Be the occasion what it would, the fleet from which he had promised himself great advantages gave him none. The English frigates lay at this time in the bay of Dublin, which were of great use to JONES in furnishing him with provisions, of which he stood in the utmost need, and the frigates were easily to be surpris'd : but though Lord ORMONDE recommended this service to the Prince, yet it was not so much as attempted. When his Excellency drew out his army for the siege of Dublin, he sent two Officers to the Prince, desiring him to block up the harbour with his fleet in order to prevent its relief, as a service of the utmost importance to his Majesty's affairs in that kingdom. The forts of Derry and Culmore were then beleagured so straitly, as that it was impossible they should hold out, if any ships were sent to lie in the river to intercept the supplies of all forts that were coming from England. The Marquis sent an express with this advice ; and acquainted the Prince that the

the reducing those places by means of some of his ships, would not only put all that side of the North into the King's hands, but enable his Excellency to procure a great assistance for reducing some other parts of the kingdom. The King had given directions to the Prince to furnish the Marquis of ORMONDE with some money for the public service, of which he put his Highness in mind; desiring if money could not be had, some goods might be assigned to that purpose, and sent to Waterford; and if part of them were in corn it would be as useful, in order to enable his army to take the field. But it was all in vain: neither money, nor goods were sent, nor a ship employed in either of these, or any other services, whilst the fleet lay on the coast, and was absolute master of the Irish channel. How extremely necessary therefore was it for the King to repair to Ireland for the advantage of his affairs there!

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The King had not only assured the Marquis of ORMONDE that he would speedily be with him, but before he left Holland, his heavy baggage and inferior servants, and those of his Ministers and Officers who were to accompany him, were sent away in two ships, and actually arrived in Ireland. But the Queen, who wanted to retain the same influence in this reign which she had fatally had in the last, having pressed the King by many letters and messages to go to her, it was resolved against the opinion of the wisest part of his Council, and very unhappily for Ireland, that he should take France in his way. Though the Queen could have no dislike of the resolution that had been taken for his Majesty's going to Ireland;—for in truth there was no other place for him to go to—yet she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution at all should have been taken before she was consulted. She was angry too that the Councillors had been chosen without her directions, and, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in his affairs. The King however made no apologies to her as she expected; nor any professions of resigning himself up to her advice: on the contrary, he did as good as desire her not to trouble herself in his affairs. This, to a woman of high spirit who had absolutely governed his father, and had a strong passion for power, was a mortification she could not digest. After some time spent at Paris, the Queen being disappointed of the dominion she had expected, and consequently not  
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solicitous for his stay, the King embarked for the isle of Jersey which still continued under his obedience; in order to transport himself from thence when it should be seasonable into Ireland.

The reader who has seen how necessary the King's presence had been some time before in Ireland, will think it very odd to be told that it was now unseasonable. This will therefore require some explanation. Instead of coming to Ireland as the Marquis had advised, his Majesty went to France to see his mother; and while he staid a Paris a great revolution took place in Ireland, which it is our business now to relate. The gaining of the city of Dublin, which in effect was gaining the whole kingdom, was the enterprize therefore of all others to be first undertaken by the Lord Lieutenant: but the magazines of the Confederates were in a manner empty, without provision or ammunition, and the country was to the last degree impoverished. The applotment made by the Commissioners of trust had as yet brought in nothing to the public chest: there was no money to pay the soldiers, and no corn to sustain them in the field, till the season allowed the army to be supplied with cattle. It was the beginning of May before the Marquis could get two thousand foot and three hundred horse together: these were sent under Lord CASTLEHAVEN to reduce the forts held by O'NEIL in Leinster, which it would be dangerous to leave behind them when the army should advance to Dublin. These troops, which for the most part were commanded by English officers that had always followed the fortune of the Marquis of ORMONDE, were during the expedition in great distress, being sometimes two or three days without eating; but they executed their orders and reduced the garrisons. His Excellency, in the mean time, was assembling all the forces he could raise in order to lay siege to Dublin; there not being ten days provisions in the place. Of this he gave notice to Prince RUPERT, and a second time desired him to block up the harbour, which would be a means of reducing the place immediately. But the Prince, though not then blocked up as he was afterwards by BLAKE, was not to be moved; and the Marquis had the mortification of seeing an enterprize of such consequence, so easy in the execution, and so sure of succeeding, lost for want of a small assistance which it was infamous to refuse. Cox has made an excuse for this inactivity of the Prince, by saying that he

was not sure of his men which deserted from him, and that he was in want of necessaries. But if he had sent his ships to sea the men could not have deserted; and as they had taken many prizes and three corn ships they could be in no great want; neither doth any thing of this appear by any answer to the Marquis of ORMONDE.

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This however was not the only mortification which he met with in his command. It was impossible for him to keep the forces of the Confederates under any kind of discipline; and every fatigue, though but of common marches and duty, was thought insupportable by them if they were not fed with money, which was impracticable. The army under Lord INCHQUIN, was no less pressing for money than the other; and though they were under more obedience, yet their mutiny or discontent were more to be apprehended, because they would desert to the English. It was his Excellency's business therefore to provide for both as well as he could, though every delay was fatal to the design on Dublin. Notwithstanding these difficulties, he mustered an army on the first of June, of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse near Carlow, but could not march a mile till he had borrowed eight hundred pounds, and got a little meal upon credit; which enabled him to move, and take three or four places. But even with this supply he was obliged to remain on the west side of the Liffy; and so could not engage JONES, who had marched with a force much inferior out of Dublin. All these difficulties however not being sufficient to wean the affections of the army from the Marquis, which had been tried at by some of PRESTON's officers, a design was formed with the concurrence of that General to assassinate the Lord Lieutenant. The history of all ages shew to what a length of wickedness the disappointments of pride and ambition will sometimes carry men; and numberless instances might be given of the fatal effects of such resentments in public affairs. But providence preserved him to execute designs, in which none but a man able, great, and good, as the Marquis of ORMONDE, could have succeeded.

Amidst all these difficulties and dangers, having been supplied with ten thousand pounds which Lord CASTLEHAVEN had collected, on his quitting the army till some dispute in his command had been adjusted, and with three thousand more which Lord TAAFE had brought him, in the middle of June, he moved with his  
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army towards Dublin, and was joined with two thousand of Lord INCHQUIN's foot. In a council of war held at Naas, which the Marquis had taken upon his march, it was debated whether the army should move directly to Dublin, or first take in Trim, and Drogheda, and some other garrisons. The opinion of the Generals was unanimous, to lose no time in attacking Dublin, before the supplies which were expected arrived from England. The army moved accordingly; and on the nineteenth of June in the morning, found itself at Castle-knock in view of the city. JONES had drawn out all his horse into the green not far from the walls; to face which the Marquis sent a party of horse and musketeers, and advanced with the rest of the army within cannon shot of the gates. Having spent part of the day in that posture, expecting the well affected within the town—of which he knew there were many—might raise some commotion that would be useful, after some slight skirmishes between the horse, he drew off and encamped at Finglas, two miles from the city. On this motion, JONES sent the greatest part of his horse to Drogheda; which the Marquis of ORMONDE no sooner knew, than he detached Lord INCHQUIN with a strong party to follow them. His Lordship followed them indeed with such success, that he surprised a whole troop, and then encountering Colonel COOTE at the head of three hundred more, he made a great slaughter, and those that could escape flew in great disorder into Drogheda. No time was lost in sending word to the Marquis of his success, and of his believing that if he pursued his advantage, and attempted the town before the enemy had recovered their consternation, it would make but little resistance. These advices occasioned another Council of war; in which the strength of Dublin being considered, it was thought a desperate action to hazard the army by an assault; that they had not forces enow to invest the place, especially while O'NEIL, and MONCK, and the garrisons of Trim and Drogheda, lay so convenient to put them between two fires; and that the reduction of the latter would secure a correspondence with the North, and give great encouragement to the Scots in Ulster. Upon all these considerations it was resolved, that the Marquis of ORMONDE should continue in his camp, with five thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, to streighten Dublin and countenance any revolt in the city, and that Lord INCHQUIN, with the same number of horse,



horse, and two thousand foot, should block up Drogheda. But he chose rather to try to surprise it; and he had so far succeeded, that he had one night fired two of the gates, and got two hundred men into the town, but the horse of the garrison drove them out. On the next day, the Lord Lieutenant sent him two pieces of battery; but as soon as they were planted, the place surrendered. Such of the garrison as chose it had leave by the articles to march to Dublin with the Governour: however no more than a hundred and thirty five, out of a thousand, attended him thither; the rest taking on in his Majesty's service.

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This great success at Drogheda encouraged Lord INCHQUIN to make an attempt upon Dundalk; and receiving intelligence on his march thither, that O NEIL had sent a Lieutenant General with five hundred foot and three hundred horse to convoy some ammunition which MONCK had lent him—which LUDLOW says falsely was lent to Lord INCHQUIN—his Lordship sent six troops of horse to intercept them. They luckily met in a plain open road; and the convoy was attacked with so much vigour and success, that it was totally routed, not above forty of the foot escaping without being slain or taken prisoners. By a fate perhaps peculiar to that war, and to that nation, and which was principally at first a war of religion, the armies were now divided: in one place was to be seen still the Protestants fighting against the Papists, and the Papists against the Protestants: in another, both Papists and Protestants joining together under Popish and Protestant Generals against Protestants only: in a third, an army under leaders of the two religions fighting against Papists only: and what is yet more extraordinary, some of the Protestant Chiefs, whose pretence was to subdue the Papists, supplying the Popish General O NEIL with money, and ammunition, in order to enable him to subdue the principal Protestants in that kingdom. In two days after Dundalk had been invested, the soldiers obliged MONCK who commanded it to deliver it up to Lord INCHQUIN; where he found a good magazine of ammunition, clothes, and other warlike necessities, and the greatest part of the garrison, officers and men, inclined to enter into the King's service. The lesser garrisons of Newry, Trim, and other places, surrendered with little or no trouble; after which Lord INCHQUIN returned with his detachment to the Lord Lieutenant in his camp at Finglass.

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Notwithstanding the garrisons in the neighbourhood of Dublin were thus reduced, his Excellency was very doubtful of the issue of the enterprize against that city. For though JONES's horse were in a manner ruined, yet he was still too strong in foot for attempting it by assault; and as there was no other way of reducing it but by a blockade, little hopes of success that way could be entertained, whilst the sea remained open to bring the supplies, daily expected too, from England. He had for eight months together been pressing the King to repair to Ireland, whose presence there he thought absolutely necessary to the peace, and to establish his Majesty's authority in that kingdom. The reasons for his coming there still subsisted; but the situation of affairs was now much altered, by Prince RUPERT's fleet being blocked up, and by the vast preparations making then in England for supplies of all sorts, and a great army, to be sent to Ireland. The Marquis therefore altered his advice, which occasioned the King's going to Jersey, as above mentioned; and recommended his staying abroad at least till the fate of Dublin was decided, and the designs and motions of the Commonwealth in England were better known. Upon a review of the army at Lord INCHQUIN's return, it was found to consist of seven thousand foot and four thousand horse; which was not sufficient for a regular siege of so large a city as Dublin, and defended by such a numerous garrison. A good body of troops from the North might have been a reinforcement sufficient for that purpose: but the situation of affairs was much altered there. O NEIL upon the invitation of SR. C. COOTE, backed with five thousand pounds, had raised the siege of Derry. The old Scotch officers who had revolted, as was said before, and besieged that place, when they found that Lord ARDES, and SR. R. STEWART, and some others, had received Commissions from the King whom they had proclaimed in their camp, and that the covenant was likely to be overturned, deserted the service: and the people of that country as well as the army being bewitched by the covenant, every thing there was in confusion. No reinforcement therefore being to be had from thence, the Lord Lieutenant was compelled to do the best he could with the army which he had. In a Council of war at the latter end of July, it was resolved to encompass the city of Dublin on all sides; which had hitherto been streightened only towards the North. But as  
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his Excellency was marching a part of the forces to encamp for that purpose at Rathmines, he heard that the Colonels REYNOLDS and VENABLES were arrived in the harbour with two thousand foot, and six hundred horse together with supplies of money and all other necessaries of which the garrison stood in need. This, how discouraging soever, was not the worst part of the story. For the same ships which brought these succours to JONES, brought intelligence also from good hands to the Marquis, and Lord INCHQUIN that this supply was deemed sufficient for the defence of Dublin; but that CROMWELL lay ready with a great army at Bristol to embark for some port in Munster, where it was known that the Republicans had many friends. We must leave Ireland therefore for the present to view the transactions in England relating to it.

There was no part of the conduct of the English Parliament, since the commencement of the war with the late King, which had made them more obnoxious to well disposed people, and the reproaches of which they could bear with less uneasiness, than their scandalous neglect of Ireland. Therefore when they had gotten rid of the King, and settled the form of their Commonwealth, it was thought necessary to take some care of the Protestant interest in Ireland; or to speak much more justly, to take care of their own interest there in opposition to the King's, which was in a fair way of succeeding. The government of Ireland was a post which CROMWELL thought not unworthy of his own acceptance: and though it had been intended for LAMBERT, whose nomination he had supported in the House, yet by his dexterity at intriguing he himself was unanimously chosen to fill the dignity of Lord Lieutenant. He was no sooner appointed to this post, than he bestirred himself with his usual diligence and adroitness, to prepare money, men, ammunition, provision, and every thing that was necessary to his wonted success, in great quantities: for how insufficient soever he let other people depart for their several commands, he took care to be always well furnished himself. But before we proceed to his operations we must return again to what preceded them in Ireland.

On the arrival of the supplies and the intelligence before mentioned, the Marquis of ORMONDE called a Council of war; at which were present besides himself, the

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the Lords INCHQUIN, CASTLEHAVEN, and TAAFE, PRESTON, and three Generals more. There was no doubt that CROMWELL had good intelligence from Munster, and that he knew that almost all the men who were fit for service in that province were drawn out of it for the army; which was his reason probably of going thither instead of coming to the relief of Dublin. For if he became master of that province, the best ports in the kingdom would fall into his hands; and the King's fleet blocked up by a superior force would not only be lost, but those parts of the country from whence the principal support of the army was taken would be in their possession. Should Dublin be taken, which was now extremely doubtful, and those places were lost, which, guarded as they now were, they certainly would be, it would prove but an ill exchange: and should they be lost, and the enterprise upon Dublin not succeed, the army must come to nothing, and the whole kingdom would be subdued. Upon these considerations, it was resolved to send Lord INCHQUIN with two regiments of horse, and his own guards—making up in all, says Lord CASTLEHAVEN, eleven hundred—to secure the province of Munster. To send off eleven hundred horse from the army, which was already not strong enough for the work they had in hand, was a strange measure: but to send eleven hundred horse only to secure a whole province, the security of which it had been owned was of infinite importance, and this against a numerous well appointed army under the command of CROMWELL, whose successes had given terror to his name, was stranger still. Such however was the resolution of the Council of war.

The next consideration, was whether they should continue the blockade of Dublin, or retire to Trim, and Drogheda, and the adjacent garrisons; and from thence either make an offensive or defensive war as occasions should be offered. There were several objections against retreating so far off; and it was resolved therefore that the army should continue in the present camp till Rathfarnham was taken, and should then remove to a securer quarter. Rathfarnham was the next day taken by storm; but not a man, woman, or child put to the sword. The army was then to have removed to Drumnagh, according to the resolution of the Council of war; but the officers and soldiers expressing uneasiness at retreating, and being confident that the town might be reduced with  
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their present strength, that resolution was suspended. The enemies horse were now encreased to twelve hundred; and they had no place to graze in but a meadow near the walls on that side, adjoining almost to which was a village called Baggatrath: if this little village could be possessed and fortified, it would deprive them of the only pasture they had, and in five days time the horses must be starved: besides it was easy from thence to approach to the river side, and by casting up a work on the shore to prevent any further succours from being thrown into the city. Lord CASTLEHAVEN, General PRESTON, PURCELL, and some others, were sent to view the place, in order to know whether it were capable of being so strengthened in one night, as to cover and secure the party to be posted in it. When they returned, they gave their opinion that it was a place very fit for the purpose, and with fifteen hundred men might be made tenable in one night's time. Hereupon orders were given to PURCELL to go thither in the beginning of the night with that number of men, and all the necessary materials to execute the work. As soon as it was dark, he marched accordingly; but though it was not a mile from the camp to Baggatrath, yet their guides had led them such a round-about way, that they did not arrive thither more than an hour before day.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had been up all night; as well to be ready in case the enemy made a sally, as to finish some dispatches he was sending off to the King. As soon as the day broke, he rode down to the place, which he found not so strong as he expected, and the work not at all advanced; but he saw some strong parties of the English, who had been alarmed, drawn out under their works, and hiding themselves the best they could in several places. Hereupon he considered whether it were best to go on with the work, or draw off the men: he thought neither could be done without danger, unless the whole army was drawn out to support them; and therefore that the work might as well be countenanced as their retreat. The Marquis's military conduct in this action hath been censured; and as no particulars have been named, I presume it must be here, in not retreating with his men when he found the intended work was not, and could not now be executed, since the enemy had discovered them; it being better to risk the loss of some of these, which at

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that early time of the day could not have been many, than to endanger his whole army. But be this as it might. The Marquis having rode about with PURCELL and VAUGHAN, the two Major Generals of horse and foot, and shewn them the places where he would have them drawn up—he being confident that JONES would hazard all to interrupt their work—he went back to his tent, in order to refresh himself with a little sleep before the action began—for an action he was sure there would be—and in his way he ordered all the regiments to stand to their arms. As soon as JONES received intelligence of what was carrying forward, he drew out his twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot with all expedition possible, and attacked the Irish. The Marquis had not slept above an hour, when he was awakened with volleys of shot : and before he could get an hundred yards from his tent, all those whom he had left at work were beaten out of their posts, VAUGHAN was killed at the head of his men, and the right wing of the army was wholly defeated. The Marquis of ORMONDE did all that was in his power to do, to rally the horse, and recover the battle ; but the Irish were seized with such a pannick, that he could get but two regiments to stand, with which he charged the enemy ; and these being overpowered with numbers, and soon broken, he was obliged to quit the field. In this engagement, which is called the battle of Rathmines, three hundred officers and fifteen hundred soldiers were taken prisoners ;—BORLASE, and COX after him, say above two thousand five hundred—many of those belonging to Lord INCHQUIN enlisting under JONES. Not above six hundred, says CARTE, were slain—about four thousand say the two other historians—and of those, more than half were put to the sword, an hour after they had laid down their arms upon a promise of quarter ; and some even after they were within the walls of the town. The defeat however was a thorough one : all the plunder of a well furnished camp, the artillery, tents, baggage, carriages—and LUDLOW says four thousand pounds in money—fell into the hands of the enemy. The Irish had the impudence to cast this miscarriage solely upon the Marquis ; whereas so great a defeat could not have happened had their officers and men done their duty : and in all human probability, the undertaking would have succeeded, and Dublin must have surrendered, if the party had got in due time to Baginbally.

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trath, and had had the whole night to work in. But when REILLY, the titular Primate, was prosecuted four years after by the Republicans, for burning the castle of Wicklow and murdering those that were in it during the cessation, he had the impudence and the profligacy to plead the merit of having ordered the guides to lead the detachment so much astray, as that it should not be able to reach the place of its destination time enough to do any good ; and this plea of treachery to his country saved his life. It was however the first, and only loss, that ever fell upon any army or party of which the Marquis of ORMONDE had ever had the title of the chief commander ; and of this he had little more.

The consternation in his forces had been so great, and they were so much dispersed, that he sent orders to those on the side of Finglas who had not been in the action, to march part of them to Trim, and the other part to Drogheda, in order to strengthen those garrisons against any attack from JONES, whilst he went himself to Kilkenny. In his march thither the next day, which was the third of August, he made a halt with the few horse he had rallied together, and joining a party with which he had before blocked up the fort of Ballishannon, summoned the Governour to surrender. The Governour believing that the Marquis was returning from his success in the siege of Dublin, surrendered that important fort without hesitation. When his Excellency got to Kilkenny, he issued out the necessary orders to rally the scattered forces, to raise new levies, and to provide as well as he could for the defence of the places he had gained in the campaign. In a week after the defeat, he was able to get but three hundred horse to him ; but having appointed a place for a rendezvous, he marched with them to Trim, in order to relieve Drogheda that was invested by JONES as he expected : and JONES, upon his approach, raised the siege and returned to Dublin. The loss of men was much easier to be supplied than the loss of arms and artillery, or than to find money to pay and support the army. The city of Limerick pleaded poverty, and offered only one hundred pounds : Wexford refused positively to furnish any : and Galway, which had not paid above half the loan which had been stipulated six months before, was visited by the plague, and could pay nothing. The same distemper had spread over a great part of Connaught ; which had obliged the Marquis of CLANRICARDE,

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CARDE, now the President of that province, to remain for a long time inactive.

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Amidst all these discouragements, the Lord Lieutenant had hopes, if any thing should interrupt the coming of the forces with CROMWELL into Ireland, to be able to make a second and a successful attempt against Dublin, if not to be master of the whole kingdom before the spring. O NEIL had made a cessation with MONCK, which was to expire on the eighth of August; at which the Council of State in England, as they called themselves, appeared to be much offended; and MONCK was recalled, and for some time laid aside. O NEIL, finding this cessation was not to be renewed, sent an agent to London; proposing a submission of his army to the Commonwealth of England, if they might obtain indemnity for what was passed, and an assurance of their religion and estates for the time to come. But his conditions were refused by the Council of State. It was necessary however to provide for himself and his forces by some means or other; and no other way being left but by the Lord Lieutenant, he sent his Excellency an intimation, just before the battle of Rathmines, that he was ready to renew the treaty. The Marquis was very uneasy at the first refusal of his demands by the Commissioners of trust; and was therefore as ready as O NEIL to try if they could be now complied with. But he was obliged to write to him—for he could get no body of consequence enough to go to the further part of Ulster to him—and to send powers to the Bishop of Rapho and Colonel MERVYN to settle the forms of his submission.

Whilst the Marquis of ORMONDE was pleasing himself with the hopes of this negotiation, he received intelligence that CROMWELL was landed at Dublin with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, two hundred thousand pounds in money, and a vast quantity of all kinds of ammunition and warlike necessaries. It was first intended that General IRETON his son in law should go with a party to Munster, and CROMWELL go with the rest to Dublin: but the wind blowing a strong gale from the South, the whole fleet was obliged to put into the bay of Dublin. CARTE alledges some other reasons for CROMWELL's not going to Munster, which are too improbable to be true; but I have given the account as LUDLOW gives it, who must certainly know the reason, and in this case may be believed, as it is a case quite indifferent.



ferent. The hopes of the Marquis of ORMONDE were now blasted; and the scene was so much altered by this event, that he had no other chance for any thing better than a defensive war. His first care was to repair the fortifications at Drogheda, as the most exposed of any of the frontier towns, and which would probably be CROMWELL's first attempt, and to get as much provisions into the place as the time would allow. SR. A. ASTON a Catholic, and a soldier of great experience and reputation, was, with the approbation of the Commissioners of trust, appointed Governour: a garrison of two thousand foot and a good regiment of horse, all picked men, and many Gentlemen and Officers were sent into it, with as much ammunition as the Governour asked. Drogheda being thus provided for, the Marquis retired with his horse and the small remainder of his foot, in order to assemble his other forces at Tecroghan; whither Lord INCHQUIN was directed to bring all he could from Munster. The Bishop of Rapho had executed his commission with O NEIL; from whom, except civility, he could get nothing but an assurance, that he would enter into a treaty as soon as he should remove from thence, and in the mean time his forces should not commit any hostilities, nor do any thing to the prejudice of the King's service. But the Marquis thinking these delays almost as ruinous as hostilities, sent the nephew, D. O NEIL, to finish the treaty with his uncle, and to engage him to march immediately to the assistance of the Lord Lieutenant. The General was within twelve miles of Derry when Daniel met him: and determined, with the consent of the chief officers of his army, which was six thousand foot and five hundred horse, to agree and join with the Marquis of ORMONDE. Even HEBER MAC MAHON, the titular Bishop of CLOGHER and fast friend of the Nuncio, had opened his eyes now to see—what indeed one would think, if “GOD had not sent them a strong delusion,” all the Catholics must have seen from the beginning—that there was no chance for the existence of their religion in Ireland but in that conjunction; and became zealous for it. He found an expedient for taking off the Nuncio's excommunication, without any examination of the matter, for the better union of the Irish, and for healing those divisions which threatened the ruin of their country. But O NEIL was still detained in those parts: and to finish his story at once that it may give us no more

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Some little time was necessary for **CROMWELL** to rest and refresh his army, and to settle the civil and military government at Dublin: and this being over, he marched on the thirtieth of August with ten thousand men for Drogheda, sending his provisions and artillery by sea. He lay before it above a week without doing any thing very material; and the Governour sent the Marquis word, "that he would find the enemy play, and therefore advised him to hazard nothing by precipitating to his relief." But on the ninth of September, the summons having been rejected, **CROMWELL** began to batter the place; and continuing to do so till the next day in the evening, the assault was made, and his men twice repulsed with great bravery: but in the third attack which he led himself, Colonel **WALL** being killed at the head of his regiment, his men were so dismayed, that they submitted to the enemy offering them quarter, sooner than they need to have done, and thereby betrayed themselves and their fellow soldiers to the slaughter. The place was immediately taken by storm; and though his officers and soldiers had promised quarter to all that would lay down their arms, yet **CROMWELL** ordered that no quarter should be given, and none was given accordingly. The slaughter continued all that day, and the next, and the Governour and four Colonels were killed in cool blood: "which extraordinary severity"—says **LUDLOW** with a coolness not becoming a man—"I presume was used to discourage others from making opposition." But are men to divest themselves of humanity, and to turn themselves into Devils, because policy may suggest that they will succeed better as devils than as men! Such is the spirit of religion, when it is deprived of truth and reason, and turned into zealous fury and enthusiasm! When **CROMWELL** had finished the carnage, by leaving only about thirty alive whom he sent away to Barbadoes, except a few that miraculously made their escape, he went to Dundalk: And though the Marquis had given orders for that place, and Trim, to be dismantled and burnt, yet the garrisons of those towns were in such a ter-

ror with the news they heard from Drogheda, that they did not execute his orders; so that the enemy thought it worth their while to possess them and put garrisons into them.

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The Lord Lieutenant had not now with him above seven hundred horse, and fifteen hundred foot; some of which were of suspected faith, and many were new raised men: And though Lord INCHQUIN was preparing to march to his assistance with a good body of horse and foot from Munster, and Lord ARDES was in readiness with a considerable number of the Ulster Scots, yet the Marquis had neither money nor provisions for a single day to keep them together. The Commissioners of trust were dispersed; and their collectors not so diligent as they should have been in getting in corn or money. In this distress, the Lord Lieutenant issued out his own warrants for raising them: but this step so absolutely necessary for their existence, was complained of by the Commissioners as a breach of the articles of the peace; and they even talked among themselves of treating with the enemy. Any other man in the world, but so good a man as the Marquis of ORMONDE, who had sacrificed his ease, his happiness, and fortune to the service of his country, and who had for several years hazarded his life almost daily in it, would have abandoned such a worthless, perfidious, ungrateful set of men to their own delusions: but his patience was invincible, and their punishment was not so soon to be at an end. The most advisable thing to be done in the present situation of their affairs, was to put their men into garrisons in the most considerable places; and as winter was approaching, to prosecute the levies of men, and train them to exercise and discipline. But his Excellency had not the power to make any new garrisons, nor to change the Governors of the old ones, without the consent of the Commissioners: and they had not influence enough with the chief cities and towns, which were the most likely to be attacked, to persuade them to receive garrisons. Limerick, Waterford and Wexford, declared openly that they would not admit of any soldiers; nor would they obey any orders whatsoever that were sent them, of which they themselves did not approve.

To remedy this confusion, and to prevent many other evils which it was easy to foresee, the Marquis of ORMONDE had again recourse to the expedient of his Majesty's

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jeſty's repairing thither immediately. This would abſolutely put an end to the power of the Commiſſioners, which had been ſuch a clog upon his authority; and if any thing could, it would unite the nation in his Maſteſty's ſervice. The King was ready, and waited only for the word from the Marquis to embark for Ireland. To this purpoſe he ſent Colonel WARREN, and another Gentleman of his bed-chamber, to learn a true ſtate of his affairs there from the Marquis; and by them the King ſent him the George and Garter, having conferred that order upon him juſt at this time, together with the Prince Palatine, and Duke of BUCKINGHAM. The Marquis, and every body with whom he conſulted, were clearly of opinion for the King's coming immediately with all the ſpeed that was conſiſtent with his ſafety: And as the fleet of the Common-wealth had quitted their ſtation ſince their forces were landed in Ireland, a free paſſage by ſea was now become open to Prince RUPERT. The Marquis of ORMONDE took great pains to fit out the Prince's ſquadron, and to ſupply it with ſeamen and proviſions, that it might fail to Jerſey to bring over the King. But by the time that the advice which he had ſent his Maſteſty arrived in that iſland, other meaſures were taken. The King, in his preſent ſituation, had nothing properly to loſe but his reputation; which depending on his own conduct, could not be taken from him juſtly by any body but himſelf. He had determined to adhere to his father's principles and friends: he deteſted the Covenant, and all the ends for which it was calculated: but his old Councillors being all out of the way, and his new ones having no other project to propoſe than a retreat to Scotland, whither the Parliament of that kingdom had given him a ſtrong invitation, with very flattering promiſes of the mighty things they would do for him, their former perfidy was forgotten, and he conſented to meet their commiſſioners at Breda; Jerſey being judged by them unſafe, to enter upon a treaty: and thus all thoughts of Ireland were as fatally, as abſurdly laid aſide.

That CROMWELL might loſe no time in extending his conqueſts, being informed of the diſſenſions amongſt the Ulſter Scots, he ſent VENABLES with two regiments of horſe, two of foot, and two troops of dragoons into the North; the artillery and proviſions being on board a frigate which was to attend upon the expedition. The firſt place

place they attacked was Carlingford; which beat a parley on the second day before the cannon were planted, and surrendered upon articles. The same thing was done at Newry: but in their march to Lisburn, success having made them careless against an enemy they despised, they were so roughly attacked by a good body of horse under Colonel REYOR, that had his orders been observed the whole party would have been cut off. But several accidents saved them; and they marched the same day to Lisburn, and thence to Belfast, both which surrendered upon articles. Colerain had been betrayed to SR. C. COOTE; who had likewise made himself master of all that country, except the castle of Carrickfergus, which was besieged. Whilst these successes were carrying on with such great rapidity in Ulster, CROMWELL having been well informed of the fatal disagreement among his enemies, who seemed to conspire to bring on their own destruction, marched his army to Wexford. But to avoid all obstructions in his march, and to be well supplied with provisions, he took his way by the sea-side through the county of Wicklow, his fleet attending his motions all the way: and further to provide against accidents, and to engage the country people to supply him with necessaries, he published a proclamation at his leaving Dublin, forbidding his soldiers upon pain of death to hurt any of the inhabitants, or to take any thing from them without paying for it in ready money. This order being observed, and the people being assured that these forces were for the liberty of the commoners, that they should all enjoy their religion, and that those who served the camp should pay no contribution, the country people flocked in vast crowds to his army with all sorts of provisions. Three or four places surrendered to him on his march; and on the first of October, he sat down before Wexford with nine thousand men. It is hardly to be supposed that CROMWELL would have exposed his army, which was much weakened by sickness, in a siege at such a season, if he had not had intelligence that the place would be given up to him.

There was all the reason in the world for the Marquis of O'MONDE to believe that this was intended. He had sent Lord CASTLEHAVEN to view the place, and provide for its defence: and though they had before refused to receive a garrison, yet when CROMWELL's fleet appeared before the harbour, the inhabitants were terrified to the last degree. Lord CASTLEHAVEN ap-  
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pointed SYNNOT, Lieutenant-colonel of PRESTON's regiment, to be their Governor; a man chosen by the Mayor as a confidant of the titular Bishop of FERNS: but the people were in such a fright, that if SR. E. BUTLER had not come himself, they would have opposed SYNNOT's entrance with his men, and have delivered up the town at the first summons. This was in a great measure owing to the treachery of one ROCHFORD the recorder; who had been a violent partisan of the Nuncio's, and now corresponded with CROMWELL by the canal of MR. N. LOFTUS. The town was capable of being made very strong at a small expence but the corporation had too long deferred providing for their own defence. The Marquis of ORMONDE however resolved to do all that he could for their preservation: and with this view, having assembled all his forces, with thirteen hundred sent him out of Conaught by Lord CLANRICADE, and two regiments of horse by Lord INCHQUIN, he caused them to march to Ros; and went himself with only his own retinue to the fort of Duncannon, which Lord CASTLEHAVEN had represented as utterly unprovided, and in danger of being lost. The Governor was one ROCH put in by the Nuncio, a creature of the titular Bishop of FERNS, and who kept a regular correspondence with LOFTUS above-mentioned; some of whose intercepted letters the Marquis of ORMONDE had in his hands. He did not however discover to ROCH that he had any knowledge of his treachery, nor express the least distrust of him: but surveying very exactly the condition of the fort, distributing some money among the soldiers assuring them of his constant care for their relief, and encouraging them to hold out till it came, returned the same night to Ros and joined his army.

The town of Wexford had been invested on two sides, before the Magistrates would consent to receive any other garrison than the few that came in with SYNNOT: but their fears increasing with their danger they were contented to receive some assistance from the Lord Lieutenant, provided the men were all Catholics; and he immediately ordered fifteen hundred men to be conducted by Lord CASTLEHAVEN, who had the good fortune to throw them safe into the town. The Governor was in some apprehensions for the place on account of a scarcity of provisions: and he sent word to the Lord Lieutenant, that if five hundred men more, and a suitable quantity of provisions,

provisions were sent him, he made no doubt of defending it against the enemy, who already wanted forage. Upon this, his Excellency resolved to attempt the relief of the place in his own person, and with what forces he had to throw in succours, to change the Governor who was thought to be too young, and to receive the useless people in order to save some provision. Leaving therefore Major General TAAKE with a Connaught regiment to garrison Ross and finish the fortifications, he marched with the rest of his army, and arrived safe at the ferry on the North side of Wexford. From thence he sent notice to the Mayor, that he was there ready to afford them whatever succours they pleased: and some of the Aldermen were sent to congratulate his safety after so hazardous a march, to express their obligations to him for the danger he had undergone for their preservation, and to inform him that they were willing to receive any number of men he pleased. Some were ferried over immediately: and as the town was willing to admit SR. E. BUTLER, who was Governor of the county, to the same command in the town, he was sent in with six hundred men to reinforce it, and to take the command.

The Lord Lieutenant having finished the work of putting a second relief into Wexford, began his march back towards Ross: but CROMWELL having had intelligence of this, sent JONES with a considerable detachment from his army to intercept the Marquis on his return. His Excellency saw them drawn up on a hill, and suspected their design: but considering the condition of his own forces, the jealousies that reigned among them, and the disadvantages that he must suffer in an engagement, resolved to avoid it. He marched therefore in the close of the evening a contrary way to what he had done before; and fetching a compass over the mountains of Wicklow, he arrived in two days at Leighlin bridge. There Colonel BUTLER overtook him with the melancholy news, that Wexford was betrayed into the hands of CROMWELL, by STRAFFORD the Governor of the castle, and that he himself had escaped by swimming over the ferry; which SR. E. BUTLER attempting received a shot in his head, and was unfortunately drowned. The Lord Lieutenant would before the siege have removed STRAFFORD; but he being a Papist put in by the Supreme Council, the Commissioners of trust would not consent to it. The castle was seated at so small a distance from the town, that there

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was no cutting off the communication : and as soon as CROMWELL had ordered his batteries to play on a distant quarter of the town, on his summons being rejected, SRRAFFORD admitted his men into the castle, from whence issuing suddenly and attacking the wall and gate adjoining, they were admitted, either through the treachery of the townsmen, or the cowardice of the soldiers, or perhaps both ; and the slaughter was almost as great as that of Drogheda. The Marquis of ORMONDE was exceedingly troubled at this fatal miscarriage ; which defeated the principal hopes he had remaining. For he had flattered himself that Wexford would hold CROMWELL long enough in play, till his forces, which were unused to the climate of Ireland, would be so considerably reduced by the fatigues of the siege at such a season, as that his Excellency should be in a condition to give him battle.

But this was not the only mortification which he met with at this time. He received letters from Lord INCHQUIN with an account of a conspiracy among his Officers, in which he believed too many of them were engaged, to secure the town of Youghall for the English Parliament, and to seize his person : and though he had prevented the treachery, he had not force enough to punish it as it deserved. He further advertised his Excellency of his suspicions of some of the Officers and men of the two regiments of his horse which the Marquis had with him ; but he hoped soon to reduce others which yet held out against him at Corke. Amidst these misfortunes, the Marquis had the comfort of knowing that Lord TAAFE, and D. O NEIL, were advancing as fast as they could, which was very slowly for want of subsistence, with near four thousand of O NEIL's army to his assistance. The Marquis of ORMONDE in the the mean time endeavoured as well as he could to provide for the defence of Ros, and Duncannon, not knowing which of them would be first attacked. He put Major General TAAFE, a Catholic, with fifteen hundred foot into Ros ; and leaving his horse to refresh themselves after their long marches, went to Waterford, to provide a supply of provision and ammunition, and a better Governor and garrison for Duncannon. It was easier to supply the fort with men than with provisions ; which were so incredibly scarce in the army, that Lord ORMONDE could never procure eight and forty hours provision at a time : and even a place so near Waterford was in danger of being lost through want of victu-  
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als and ammunition. The inhabitants of that city were either not sufficiently sensible of the importance of the fort for their own security, or they had resolved within themselves to submit to the first summons from CROMWELL. But these were not the only people who were affected with the terror of CROMWELL's name. The Commissioners of trust, who were astonished at the loss of Wexford—though owing entirely to the treachery of their own Governor—were on the point of deserting Kilkenny, and sent to consult the Lord Lieutenant on their removal; but he dissuaded them from it as being very needless and unseemly. When his Excellency first provided for the defence of Duncannon, he appointed Colonel WOGAN to command equally with ROCH; and left him there with his own life-guard of a hundred and twenty English Officers, whose fidelity had been approved. But on second thoughts believing that a co-ordinate command would be subject to inconveniencies, he recalled ROCH from the fort. The Commissioners of trust took fire, as usual, at this breach of the articles of peace; and notwithstanding the Marquis had intercepted some of his letters, which were a proof of his perfidy, and that ROCH himself had declared he could not defend the place, yet they undertook for his fidelity, and insisted on his being sent back to his command.

Though the siege of Wexford had been very short, yet CROMWELL's army were not at all pleased with a winter campaign; and complaining of great hardships began to mutiny. In order to quell their discontent, he was obliged to promise that he would put them on no other service for that year after taking Rofs; which he assured them would be delivered to him without any trouble. In the middle of October, he marched from Wexford with the gros of his army for that place; and at the same time sent a detachment to take Duncannon. The Marquis of ORMONDE marched with his forces—much diminished by the loss of those slain at Wexford, and the running away of all Lord INCHQUIN's foot home to Munster—and encamped over against Rofs on the other side of the river. The Governor, Major General TAFFE, came to his Excellency's camp; and being supplied with all things necessary for his defence, desired an order under the Marquis's hand for the defence of the town as long as it was possible, and for the surrender of it when a Council of Officers should judge it to be untenable.

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The Council of war who were consulted thought it a reasonable request: the order was given: TAAFE returned to his garrison; and the Marquis went part of the way that night to Kilkenny, in order to meet a party of O'NEILS's army which was advancing thither to join him. As he was upon his journey early the next morning, he heard CROMWELL's cannon and within twenty-four hours after the artillery began to play, the town of Ross, through the treachery or cowardice of General TAAFE, was delivered up; on condition that the garrison should march out bag and baggage, and be ferried over into the county of Kilkenny.

But Colonel WOGAN was neither to be terrified with the artillery, nor to be bribed with the money of CROMWELL: and the Council of war had determined before the surrender of Ross, to try the fate of a battle rather than lose so considerable a fort as that of Duncannon. With this view, all the foot were ordered to rendezvous at the pass of Graig, six miles from Ross; and Lord INCHQUIN, being just returned from Munster, was ordered to repair to the horse quarters and bring them thither. Lord ORMONDE staid a few days longer at Kilkenny, to make the best provision possible for the army, now on the point of encreasing by O'NEIL's forces under General FERRAL. But advice having been received, that twelve hundred foot and three hundred horse were to go from Dublin, in order to enable CROMWELL to return thither, and that they might be easily intercepted, Lord INCHQUIN imagined that this would be the least hazardous way of ruining the English army. The Marquis of ORMONDE was unwilling to delay the former resolution of attempting to relieve Duncannon; especially as CROMWELL had began a bridge of boats at Ross to pass his army over into the county of Kilkenny. His Excellency went however to meet the General Officers, and confer with them on the enterprize: and they all thinking it feasible, and the Commissioners of trust approving it, Lord INCHQUIN was sent with all the horse and a thousand foot upon that expedition; the Marquis going to the camp to wait the issue of it. Had none but friends been entrusted with the design, there is no doubt but it would have succeeded: but it was no sooner resolved on than communicated to CROMWELL, and the Dublin party. For this reason that party rested two days on their march, and were to be met at Glascarig by a strong detachment

tachment of horse from the army. By some accident they did not meet: but by another accident they were apprised of Lord INCHQUIN's attack, where he was not expected, which saved them. In the end however, two of his Lordship's standards were taken, several considerable Officers killed, and some others dangerously wounded. But though they did not succeed by a surprise, they would not have been routed in the engagement, if the Irish horse had not run away without striking a stroke.

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In the mean time, the Marquis of ORMONDE had sent Lord CASTLEHAVEN to look after the relief of Duncannon, which his Excellency had much at heart. The siege was commanded by IRETON, and some Parliament ships lay before it: but his Lordship ventured in a boat one morning and got into the place. Having been shewn every part of the fortifications by Colonel WOGAN, his Lordship could see from the highest part of the rampart how the enemy lay: and having well considered every thing, he offered to send him fourscore horses that night by sea, with saddles and pistols, if he would mount them with so many of his English Officers, and with these and some foot make a sharp sally before day upon the enemy. The Colonel liked the proposal extremely, but doubted much the performance, it being three miles by sea: but his Lordship assured him he should shortly be satisfied of what had been undertaken. Having thus concluded, he took his boat, returned, and immediately set himself to his business; because the tide served in the beginning of the night to waft them over. The boats being made ready, he caused the horse to be taken to the sea-side, and saw them safely stowed in the boats, and sent away. They all arrived safe at Duncannon; and every thing being executed as he designed, a great slaughter was made, the cannon seized, and the Governor retired with his party before day into the fort. The enemy, who knew there were no horse there, were in the utmost confusion; not imagining that this was a sally only of the garrison, but a falling in of an army from abroad: they raised the siege therefore immediately, and were in such haste to march away that they left two brass canon behind them. This was the first place that had made any thing like a stand against CROMWELL's army in Ireland; and at this place they failed.

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Whilst this siege was carrying on, he himself was busy, as was said before, in making a bridge of boats over the river at Ros, for the passage of his army into the county of Kilkenny; and by the time that the party employed in that siege rejoined him, the bridge was almost finished. The Marquis of ORMONDE, not having force enough to oppose that work, had recourse to stratagem for destroying it: but Lord TAAFE who proposed, and who was ordered to execute the plan, failed in the attempt. Over this bridge CROMWELL's forces were daily pouring; and therefore Lord ORMONDE retired three miles nearer to Kilkenny, to wait till the horse under Lord INCHQUIN were refreshed after their unfortunate expedition: this however could not be done so suddenly, but that CROMWELL had time to appear before the Marquis's quarters with his whole army in order of battle: and the want of horse, with the backwardness of several of his chief Officers arising from their being of several parties, and their jealousies of each other, made his Excellency retreat, without fighting, to Kilkenny. But meeting there with General FERRAL, and the rest of the Ulster forces, the Marquis made all the preparations he could to engage the enemy; being determined to fight upon any disadvantage rather than to be besieged. To this end he drew up a declaration, setting forth the condition of the kingdom; that if possible he might restore such a confidence and unanimity among the several parties, as was requisite before their engaging in a battle. He desired Lord INCHQUIN to communicate this declaration to the Munster and Conaught forces, and General FERRAL to the Ulster Officers; and to desire a speedy signification of their opinions and resolutions under their hands. In their answer, they declared it to be necessary to fight the enemy; and they all engaged cheerfully to obey his Excellency's commands according to their duty. The day after this assurance was given, the Lord Lieutenant marched from Kilkenny with all his forces and seven days provision, in order to seek an opportunity of giving CROMWELL battle; who had marched to Carrick, which had been surpris'd. But when the Marquis drew near that place, he found that CROMWELL had passed there with all his army over the Sure; and, notwithstanding the promise given his men, was march'd to the siege of Waterford.

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The Lord Lieutenant, conceiving that City to be in danger, had made Lord CASTLEHAVEN Governour; and sent him with a thousand men to secure it, and to defend fort Passage over against Duncannon on the Waterford side: but the town would not admit his troops to enter, and had treated him with such disrespect that he was obliged to leave the place. The Citizens notwithstanding, being now alarmed at the bridge of boats at Ross, had the assurance to desire that Major CAVENAUGH, and two hundred men, might be sent to them for their security; which the Marquis ordered accordingly, though he thought the inhabitants had used him very ill, in refusing the Governour and troops which he had sent them. But when he found that CROMWELL invested the city on the twenty fourth of November, the Marquis determined to relieve it. The Council of war however did not think proper to leave Carrick behind them; and the titular Bishop of CLOGHER, who had the greatest influence over the Ulster forces, was very zealous for storming the place immediately. Wherefore the Marquis, having led the army within musket shot of the walls, left the conduct of that affair to the Lords INCHQUIN and TAAFE, and marched away with the reinforcement which he intended to throw into Waterford. About eight o'clock at night they arrived there; when he informed the Mayor and Aldermen that he had brought General FERRAL with fifteen hundred men for their defence, and had invested him with the military government of the city, not in the least doubting of their chearful concurrence in a matter intended only for their preservation. Their fears disposed them to receive him: the Marquis left the city the same night, repassed the river Sure, and marched till midnight with his life guard to a place called Dunkit. Early the next morning he went for Carrick, expecting he should find his army in possession of it. But when he got within a few miles of it, he met Colonel POWER, dispatched by Lord INCHQUIN to inform him that the enterprize had failed, through want of pickaxes and other materials to break the walls, and that the army was retreated to Clonmell, having no provisions. This disappointment—which was the more vexatious, as the place, according to LUDLOW, was defended only by a few horse, who had no arms but their swords and pistols—obliged the Marquis to march twenty miles about before he could join the army.

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When he arrived at Clonmell, he dispatched letters to the Commissioners of trust, to assure them that his forces could be no longer kept together without a supply of provisions: but if a considerable quantity might be obtained, he would march with them to the relief of Waterford, which he was afraid would otherwise be given up. Finding it impossible to get the provisions necessary for the whole army, he marched by night with a considerable part of it to conduct B. O NEIL's horse, and some more foot to Waterford; and early the next morning drew them up upon a hill opposite to the town, from whence he could plainly see CROMWELL's camp. The Marquis had not been long in this situation before he saw the English army marching away in disorder, which had been diminished by sickness and hard service: and judging the opportunity very favourable for falling upon CROMWELL's rear, he went immediately into the town to get his men ferried over to that purpose. But the Magistrates finding their danger was at an end, and suspecting the Marquis might leave them there in winter quarters, feigned many frivolous difficulties and excuses till the opportunity was lost. They consented to admit B. O NEIL's horse and some few of the foot; and of these, in two or three days, they complained as an intolerable grievance, and that the city would be starved if they were not removed immediately. This service being performed, his Excellency returned again to the army at Clonmell, where a strange scene was opened.

A good deal of the treachery of Lord ANTRIM hath appeared already in many parts of this work. These need not be repeated: but after many little intrigues to the prejudice of the King's service when he was stripped of his command in the North, as above related, as soon as CROMWELL landed at Dublin, he sent his Priest to settle a correspondence with him, and to propose or encourage the attempt on Wexford. He had done all the mischief he could at Waterford, by corrupting the minds of the soldiers and inhabitants against the Royal party; and thence he went to Clonmell, to persuade the corporation that the kingdom was betrayed, that the Ulster forces would desert from the Lord Lieutenant, and that they would do well not to receive a garrison from him. Having done this business, he intended to have gone to Limerick on the same notable errand: but the army came hither unawares upon him; and Lord INCHQUIN demanded

manded satisfaction of him for an injury done to his honour. Articles of agreement had been forged, as though framed between JONES and Lord INCHQUIN, whereby the latter had engaged to betray the King's cause and armies; and this instrument signed with his Lordship's name, and letters from JONES confirming it, it was currently reported by ANTRIM's confidants could be produced. Lord INCHQUIN receiving intelligence of this forgery, and tracing it up to ANTRIM, whom he luckily met with now at Clonmell, he laid hold of him, and gave him a challenge: but ANTRIM, not caring to fight, was contented to make a solemn acknowledgment of his crime before the Marquis of ORMONDE, and four of the Commissioners of trust; confessing that he had forged the instrument in concert with JONES, in order to sow sedition in his Majesty's army, and to exasperate the Irish against Lord INCHQUIN. After a confession of such infamous treachery to the army, ANTRIM ought to have lost his life by martial law: but he was suffered to depart without any other punishment than the consciousness of his villany; probably because he had basely injured the Marquis of ORMONDE, and his punishment might have been attributed more to his Excellency's resentment, than to his crime against the army and Lord INCHQUIN. His Lordship not only published a vindication of himself, but he wrote a letter to JONES inclosing ANTRIM's confession, and desired to know whether the part of it relating to him were true; because it was to be supposed, that a sense of his own honour would make him vindicate himself from having had any hand in such a dishonourable contrivance. But JONES died a few days after of the plague, which had spread into both armies; and so that matter ended.

It was impossible for any one to be more sincere and zealous in the King's service than Lord INCHQUIN; but his officers had not the same affections. Two or three conspiracies amongst them, to carry off his horse, to secure the posts of Munster for the Parliament, and to seize upon his person, have been already mentioned: but his Lordship imagining they were rather deluded by artifice than malice, and that they would never separate from him, he did not alter his conduct upon the proofs they had given of their inconstancy, as a wise man should have done, but left his garrison still in their hands; and it soon appeared how little they deserved that confidence.

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Lord BROGHILL, son of the Earl of CORK, had always been employed and was very zealous in the service of the late King; and so well disposed towards the present, that he had corresponded with Lord ORMONDE when in France, and had determined to wait upon the King in Holland in order to go with him into Ireland, whither the King was then intending to repair. But when he was arrived at London in order to prosecute his voyage, he was much surpris'd with a visit from CROMWELL; who inform'd him that his designs were well known to the Council of State, and that he would have been sent to the Tower immediately on his coming to town, if he himself had not interposed that he might confer with him, and try if he could not draw him off from his intended purpose. To this end, knowing well how useful his Lordship had been in the Irish war which was now committed to CROMWELL's care, he had leave from the Council of State, he said, to offer his Lordship, if he would serve against the Irish, that he should have a General Officer's command, and should have no oaths nor engagements required from him, nor be obliged to fight against any but the Irish. Having no other alternative if he refused, but the loss of his liberty in the Tower, his Lordship accepted the offer. According to his promise he came to Ireland, rais'd a troop of horse of Gentlemen, and a regiment of fifteen hundred foot well appointed. With these he put himself under the command of CROMWELL, and did great service against the Irish in many places. His chief strength and interest lay in his native province of Munster: and having received intelligence of the defection of Lord INCHQUIN's officers, CROMWELL sent him with a strong detachment thither in the middle of November; and all the garrisons there received him, and declared for the Common-wealth of England.

This general revolt of those important places furnish'd CROMWELL's army, the horse especially, with excellent winter quarters; without which, besides being harrass'd by a long march in the midst of winter to Dublin, and perhaps attacked and endangered by the Irish, they would have suffer'd extremely for want of accommodations, and of dry forage. But this was not the worst of this terrible blow: it put an end at once and for ever to all trust and confidence between the Irish and the English under  
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the command of the Lord Lieutenant. The Irish declared that they suspected all the English nation; and made this treachery of the Munster officers the grounds of a jealousy of those who had given proofs of the most unshaken fidelity: the English reproached the others with numberless instances of their perfidy; and complained of the little authority that was left to the Lord Lieutenant, by which means the army was never recruited, disciplined, nor provided as it should be, their towns not garrisoned, and such Governours set over them as treacherously or cowardly gave them up. It was impossible for the Marquis of ORMONDE to remove these jealousies, or to take any vigorous measures for their common safety: but it behoved him to distribute into winter quarters an army which he had no money to pay, nor provisions to subsist for four and twenty hours together. It was highly necessary to the service, and he proposed it to the Commissioners, that the soldiers should be put into garrisons and quarters in the great towns and cities, where they might be constantly exercised, and ready to be drawn out on any emergency: but those corporations had for many years acted like so many petty republicks independent of all other government, and submitting to no orders of which they did not approve; and even now continued refractory. Kilkenny had indeed complied; and Clonmell now agreed to admit HUGH O'NEIL with an Ulster party into garrison: but all others refused to be burdened with any soldiers, and obstinately persisted in that refusal. Even in the towns most exposed of any to danger, standing most in need of a garrison for their safety, there was an insurmountable aversion to receive orders from any but their own Magistrates.

A remarkable instance of this obstinacy the Lord Lieutenant met with at this time at Waterford. Having had the merit of relieving them and of forcing CROMWELL to raise the siege, he was in hopes he might prevail with them, from the reasonableness of the thing, and the necessity of their affairs, to admit a greater number of forces into their city, which was now become a frontier garrison. To this purpose he went thither himself; and as he entered the city, he met General FERRAL marching out with a party of foot, in order to surprize or assault the fort of Passage; which CROMWELL had taken when he lay before Waterford, and which greatly incommoded the commerce of that city. He had been gone but a few

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hours before Lord ORMONDE went to some place of prospect in the town to look after them ; and discovering a strong party of horse marching in good order to the fort, and concluding intelligence had been sent to the enemy of the design, he immediately sent for the Mayor, and shewing him the inevitable danger the party was in unless instantly relieved, desired boats might be got ready as fast as possible, to transport, from the north side of the river where he had left his troops, a regiment or two of his horse, with which he would endeavour to rescue them. But all his instances were in vain : evident as the danger was, he could not prevail with the corporation to suffer any of his horse to march through the town ; and without going through the town they could not relieve FERRAL. Full of rage and indignation at this treatment, and very desirous to preserve the party, though he had not been consulted with on the enterprise, he caused the friends and retinue he had with him to the number of fifty to mount, and led them with all the expedition he could towards the fort. He had not gone far before he met FERRAL and his men flying towards Waterford, and the enemy's horse in pursuit of them : his own party was not strong enough to encounter those horse ; but drawing his men up on the side of a hill, which made the enemy imagine the number was much greater than it was, they slackened their pace, and Lord ORMONDE skirmished with them long enough for the foot to escape, which were about half the number, and which must otherwise have been cut to pieces or taken prisoners as the other were. The prisoners he might have recovered, and have taken Passage, if the corporation would have permitted his horse to be ferried over, and to march through the town. In short they carried their insolence and jealousy to such a height, that when his Excellency offered them to reduce Passage, from which they were much annoyed, if they would only allow his forces to quarter in huts under their walls, where they should not be burdensome to the city, but maintained by the adjacent country, they absolutely refused their consent. They complained of being eaten up, and on the point of starving, through the consumption made by the garrison ; and they had rather endure any inconveniences from the fort than run the hazard of a famine. Nay to such an extravagant pitch of ingratitude and villany they had arrived, that it was proposed in the Common Council of the city to seize his Excellency's person,

person, and to cut off all that were with him as their enemies. The majority indeed did not agree to the proposal, but it met with no other reprehension.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE being informed of what had passed, thought it high time to consult his safety; and it being the middle of December, to distribute his forces into any quarters where there appeared a likelihood of their subsistence. By this means they were scattered all over the kingdom: and from this time, he never did, nor could, with all his endeavours, draw together a body of five hundred men. A little before the dispersion of the army, the Irish Clergy met at Clonnacnose; above twenty of their Bishops being present. Many warm debates arose upon the Nuncio's interdict and excommunication; but at last they were compromised, according to the expedient of the titular Bishop of CLOGHER, already mentioned. Lord ANTRIM being still at liberty, through an ill judged lenity of the Lord Lieutenant's, made use of it to render him suspected by the Clergy, and to procure a protestation from them against his government. This was not purely owing to the malignity of his nature, though he had an infinite deal: he hoped to succeed Lord ORMONDE in the dignity of Lord Lieutenant. But at this time the titular Bishop of CLOGHER baffled all his measures. The Popish Prelate had by frequent conversations formed the highest opinion of Lord ORMONDE's talents for government, and of his zeal for his country; and he endeavoured to insinuate the same opinion into the Assembly: in which if he did not succeed, he prevented any public opposition to him. The Bishop was a man of better sense than most of his brethren; and he saw the necessity of the whole nation uniting as one man in its defence. For this reason he laboured so earnestly with the congregation of the Clergy, that he persuaded them at last to enter into a superficial union for burying in oblivion all that was past; to declare that no security for life, estate, or religion, could be expected from CROMWELL; to express their detestation of all animosities between the old Irish and British; and their resolution of punishing all the Clergy that should encourage them. These decrees were published in English: but there were other proceedings in this congregation, which lasted three weeks, by which it appeared that some of the members had not wholly laid aside their

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design of raising new troubles, and that the protestation against Lord ORMONDE was only deferred.

The King's affairs in Ireland were now reduced to a very miserable condition: the reader will be convinced of it without any recapitulation. The Lord Lieutenant had done every thing in his power to prevent, and was ready to do every thing he could to remedy, this ill state of the kingdom. To that end he made several proposals at this time to the Commissioners of trust: but some of those Gentlemen held a close correspondence with the most ill affected Clergy, who cherished all the bad humours and jealousies of the people, and the others seemed willing to withdraw from a declining cause; so that he called upon them for an answer in vain. He thought it his duty therefore to send the King a full and true account of the state of his affairs there; that he might either provide what was necessary to put them in a better condition, or not be deceived in thinking that he had a kingdom and armies at his command, when without those necessities neither that kingdom nor those armies could be of any continuance. Having laid these things before his Majesty, he informed him that 'all the misfortunes of the nation, the negligences, cowardice, and treachery of others, were all attributed to him, by the mean and unworthy suggestions of malevolent people: and though he should not think himself unhappy or prejudiced, by having nothing more to do with a people that could be wrought upon by so shallow an engine as ANTRIM, yet till his Majesty should think fit to recal the power entrusted with him, he should not willingly let it fall for their pleasure. But as the ruin of both sides must be the issue of the contention, should the Clergy and their party proceed on his removal, and should it not be submitted to by him, he humbly desired his Majesty's commands to withdraw himself from the kingdom, when unavoidable necessity should drive him away.' This was what his enemies desired, and were at this very time endeavouring to obtain.

Lord ANTRIM having failed in engaging the Clergy openly to demand the removal of the Marquis of ORMONDE from the Government, sent over ROCHFORD and a Priest to Jersey, to represent that step as absolutely necessary, and to suggest that ANTRIM was the fittest person for the government, as being most agreeable to the nation.

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At the same time that this paltry intrigue was carrying on at the King's court, the party of Prince RUPERT solicited strongly for his Highness to be made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The King rejected both proposals with indignation; and with a gratitude that became him towards such a Minister, told Lord BYRON, "that he would sooner lose the kingdom, than offer such an affront to the Marquis of ORMONDE." The King was young, but he had a strength of mind upon this occasion which all King's ought to have; and the want of which alone, is often as productive of the unhappiness of their people, as the most obstinate misrule. A firm adherence to an incapable and a worthless favourite, is the ready way for a King to ruin himself: but to discard able honest Ministers, in order to please a favourite, or to gratify the pride and ambition of others, or even to silence the unjust and factious clamours of the people, is the way to unhinge and perplex his Government at home, and to make it despicable abroad. No subject had ever sacrificed his ease and fortune for his Prince, with more zeal and constancy, or served him with greater abilities and integrity, than the Marquis of ORMONDE had served the King and his father: and for his Majesty to have suffered such a Minister to have been whispered out by a favourite, or his removal to have been the condition of the services of others, would have loaded his memory with weakness and ingratitude to the latest posterity. It was however eminently the case afterwards of this very King with regard to this very Minister, as well as to the Earl of CLARENDON: and the indignation and contempt with which his Majesty's character hath been treated by all honest men ever since upon that account, hath not deterred other Princes from copying his example.—I shall now return to the history.

Though the King complied with Lord ORMONDE's request in granting him a licence to leave the kingdom, yet it was to be kept a secret till he should have a proper occasion to make use of it; and in the mean time, his Majesty endeavoured all that was in his power, to procure those supplies which were so much wanted in Ireland. To this end he made applications to the court of Sweden for arms, and to the King of Spain for money: and as Prince RUPERT had taken many rich prizes in the Mediterranean with the fleet which the Marquis had fitted out, orders were sent to his Highness to remit him ten thousand

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thousand pounds : but what the King most depended upon for the preservation of his interest in Ireland, was the hopes he had of being able to divert the money and forces of the Common-wealth of England. With this view he had agreed to enter into a treaty with the Scots at Breda, already mentioned, in order to engage them to send a powerful army into England in the spring for his assistance ; and in the mean time the Lord Lieutenant was to make the best shift he could. But what shift could that be, when an universal jealousy and discontent reigned all over the nation, when every one seemed to have abandoned the care of their defence, and to have laid aside all thoughts of uniting for their common safety ? It was impossible to do any thing with effect to that purpose, without restoring the confidence of the people, and redressing the disorders which then universally prevailed. But how to do this was the question : he could do nothing himself of any consequence without the consent of the commissioners of trust : and therefore he desired they would examine where any misdemeanors had been committed that they might be punished, and from whence the scandal and calumnies proceeded, that the minds of the people might be composed. The Commissioners advised that an authority might be given the people to send deputies from every county to present their grievances, and the means they had to propose for their relief : this was judged the best expedient to inform the country how groundless their jealousies had been, and to discover the artifice with which their affections had been corrupted : but the Marquis of ORMONDE judged otherwise : he thought it would be a tedious inconvenient method, and in the end rather advance than suppress the sedition then on foot. He saw however at the same time, if he did not comply with this proposal, he should be reproached with an unwillingness to hear or to remedy the grievances of the people : he consented therefore that the Commissioners might send their circular letters into the counties for the purpose above-mentioned ; and when the agents came to Kilkenny, he received them very graciously, and promised them a speedy answer. Whilst they were employed in drawing up a remonstrance of their grievances, about which they could not agree, they were alarmed with the approach of part of CROMWELL's army, and desired they might adjourn to Ennis in the county of Clare. This leave was granted ; but they could not agree in the particulars they were

were to complain of: and though many of them were persuaded, upon a conference with the Commissioners, who had been witnesses of all Lord ORMONDE's conduct, how groundless the slanders of him were, yet many others made the same ill use of their meeting which he had foreseen.

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It was well known how small a force the Lord Lieutenant had at Kilkenny; and CROMWELL thought this a good opportunity, when there were so many people in the place not well affected to his Excellency, to make a push against it. This alone however would scarce have determined him to such a march in the month of January, if he had not held a correspondence in the city with Colonel TICKLE, who had undertaken to betray it. As soon as his forces appeared before it, the Marquis with great difficulty got together about five hundred foot, and mounting his friends and servants made up a body of an hundred horse; With these, and with the townsmen who appeared very ready for their defence, he looked on the enemy with so good a countenance, and TICKLE failing in his engagement, that CROMWELL thought fit to retire without any action. Some of the Colonel's letters being intercepted, whereby the treachery was discovered, the Marquis caused him to be put to death. The plague raged terribly in that country at this time; and the Marquis giving the government of Kilkenny and the whole province of Leinster to Lord CASTLEHAVEN, went himself in the middle of February to Limerick, and the county of Galway, in order to concert measures with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE for an enterprise which he had projected.

In this depressed state of the King's affairs in Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant apprehended he had but two resources left: the one to join the Conaught and Ulster forces, and the other to try the titular Bishops; whether among these who had observed so much moderation in the synod above mentioned, he might not find some that knew their own interest, and who would be as industrious in using means to preserve the kingdom, as others were in labouring to destroy it. His Excellency wrote therefore to four and twenty of them, desiring they would meet him and others of the Nobility at Limerick, to confer together on the state of the nation. When they met, he told them plainly, that unless the people could be brought to place a full confidence in him, and the  
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city of Limerick be persuaded to receive a garrison and obey his orders—both which they had refused—it was impossible for him to do any thing against the English : and therefore he desired, that they would either procure a due obedience to be yielded to him, or recommend some other way, by his quitting the kingdom how it might be preserved. After several general indeterminate propositions, they recommended two remedies to remove the contents of the people : the one was that the receiver general should be called upon to clear his accounts of the money levied since the peace : this was calculated to flatter the jealousies of the people about the misapplication of the public money, and the Marquis agreed to it to undeceive them : the other was that a Privy-Council might be appointed, framed of Peers, and others, natives of the kingdom, as well spiritual as temporal : this was to aggrandize themselves, and to get the Government into their own hands ; but this was not in the Marquis of ORMONDE's power to grant. However rather than any thing should be wanting to satisfy the people, he told them that if they would specify any acts formerly done by the Privy-Council which were necessary now to be done, and could not be done by him and their Commissioners of trust, he would qualify persons who were free from just exceptions with such powers. The company appeared to be satisfied with his answers : they published a declaration that they would endeavour to root out of mens hearts all jealousies and sinister opinions conceived against his Excellency or the present Government ; desiring his further directions, and promising they would omit no industry nor care in their execution. They employed the titular Bishop of the place, and their Archbishop of CASHEL, to persuade the city of Limerick to receive a garrison. The Marquis of ORMONDE had before used all imaginable pains, and descended to all the arts of persuasion, to engage the Magistrates and the citizens to that step ; as the only means of securing their persons, their fortunes, or their religion. But they did not treat him with those outward forms of respect which had been denied him no where else. The officers that commanded the city guards, neither came to him for orders, nor imparted them to him : no Officer of his own army, nor any other person, could be admitted to him without leave of the Mayor, though to receive his Excellency's commands for opposing the enemy, who at that



that time ranged over the neighbourhood. They even imprisoned Lord KILMALLOCK, though a Popish Peer and an Officer of the army, for only quartering a few horsemen one night, by the Marquis's own orders, within the liberties of the city. These insults being too intolerable to be endured, and the plague beginning to spread, the Marquis removed to Loghrea, whither the Bishops followed him the next day: but here a strange scene of the duplicity of some of these holy men was opened. When the Marquis of ORMONDE, and Lord INCHQUIN, who had been with him at Limerick, conferred together on the passages at that meeting, they discovered to each other an application that the Bishops had made them separately: to the Marquis they declared, that all the frowardness and jealousies of the people arose from the prejudices they had contracted against Lord INCHQUIN, on account of his rigour and animosity, and the revolt of his officers and towns; but if his Excellency would dismiss him, and the troops that yet remained under his command, not only the city of Limerick, but all the nation would be as one man at his disposal: to Lord INCHQUIN they affirmed, that as he was of the most ancient extraction in Ireland, and under that notion looked upon by the Irish with great affection, if he would join heartily with them and assume the Government to himself, they would put all the power into his hands; and he would soon grow strong enough to oppose the enemy, and recover his country. The design of this treacherous double dealing is too obvious to be pointed out: but lest it should not succeed, they used their instances with the Lord Lieutenant to remove all the English Officers and soldiers under his command out of the kingdom; as an effectual means to cure the jealousies which the Irish had entertained of him on their account. Insolent and ungrateful as this proposition was, the Marquis consented to it; provided it were done in such a manner as to avoid a national distinction, and that the troops dismissed might have their arrears, and a compensation for the horses and arms they should leave behind them: the condition was accepted, but very sordidly and slowly performed.

The only ray of hope that was left of getting together any thing like an army, was with the Irish in Ulster, and Lord CLANRICARDE's forces in Conaught: and  
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with these it was thought it might not be difficult to recover the places that had been taken by COOTE and VENABLES in the North. The great difficulty was to agree about a Commander in chief; it being doubtful whether the Ulster Irish would submit to the command of the Marquis of CLANRICARDE in their own country, whom the Lord Lieutenant intended for that post. No General had yet been chosen for that province since the death of OWEN O'NEIL: the Gentry were divided into parties about a successor: many of them were not inclined to the King's service: all of them were stiff in point of command; and it was to be feared would serve under no General in their own country but who should be of their own election. Lord ORMONDE therefore wrote to the titular Bishop of CLOGHER, and some others in Ulster, to represent the importance of the service, to press their concurrence, and to remove the difficulties with regard to the command. The vain and busy spirit of ANTRIM was never at rest: he was lately gone into that province to solicit the post of General, though they had turned him out of it before; and did all that little malice and cunning could suggest to exasperate the Irish against any conjunction with the Scots: in a time of jealousies like these his practices could not fail of rendring an union of different parties impracticable: they had in truth such an effect, that the country not only submitted to pay contributions and to take protections, but even the forces were inclined to join the enemy. The people of Connaught were so exhausted, and the plague had made such a havock, the army and the inhabitants were so divided, and every one was so indolent and dejected, that Lord CLANRICARDE could neither raise the force that he had proposed, and was necessary to the undertaking, nor get provisions and money to maintain them in the field. Thus was the enterprise defeated: we must now return to what was doing in Leinster.

Lord CASTLEHAVEN having appointed the Governors of the castle and city of Kilkenny, and having taken all the measures he could to furnish it with men, provision, and ammunition, he marched out himself to a rendezvous which he had fixed at Carlow; leaving a thousand foot, and two hundred horse, in garrison behind him. He had wrote to Lord DILLON for the men under his command, amounting to two thousand five hundred foot and six hundred horse, to meet him at Carlow: in their  
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stead he received a letter from his Lordship, as though he were sending them in great haste; but notwithstanding repeated orders they never came. In the mean time, CROMWELL taking advantage of the fair weather, and knowing that nothing could be so destructive to the Irish, who wanted necessaries, as an early campaign, in the latter end of February, he marched out of his winter quarters with three thousand men: and whilst he himself with one part sat down before Callan, IRETON with the other part took several castles, and then joined him. An Irishman having been taken by Lord CASTLEHAVEN's guards at this time, desired to speak privately with his Lordship: and when he was brought in, he produced a yellow piece of wax, pretty round, which he was to swallow if he should be seized: within the ball there was a note to CROMWELL from Colonel HEWSON, to inform him that his forces were on the march to him from Dublin, but as Lord CASTLEHAVEN lay in his way desired orders what he should do. His Lordship copied the note; and the fellow having assured him of his return with CROMWELL's answer, the note was rolled up as before, and the messenger sent away: within two or three days he returned with another such ball of wax inclosing CROMWELL's orders to HEWSON, which Lord CASTLEHAVEN kept: the Colonel however held on his march and passed the Barrow, eight or ten miles below his Lordship. But though he had not strength to meddle with these armies, yet he made some advantage of his intelligence: for whilst they were joining, he marched to Athy eight miles above him, where CROMWELL had a magazine with seven hundred men in garrison: and coming before it an hour before sun-set, his Lordship took it by storm with all the garrison prisoners at discretion. The place not being tenable, and having no men to spare, he slighted it: and, not knowing what to do with his prisoners, made a present of them to CROMWELL; desiring him by letter to return the compliment, if any of his Lordship's men should fall into his power. But CROMWELL was a stranger to any such civility: and in return, a few days after, having taken Callan, and Gowran being surrendered by the soldiers on promise of quarter for themselves, the Officers being against the surrender and delivered up at discretion, were shot to death. The English army were much wasted by sickness and hard duty,

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as well as the plague: and the greatest part of those he had brought with him had perished: but the fatal revolt of the Munster forces had recruited him with men, habituated to the climate, and inured to the hardships of an Irish war. All the castles within his reach submitted without making any defence; and the whole county of Tipperary agreed to pay him contributions. There was scarcely one castle or strong house in Leinster, which the husband or wife was not for giving up, and receiving conditions from the enemy. It must be owned that all these places wanted ammunition for their defence; but the general terror which seized the inhabitants was the reason why they were yielded before a gun was fired against them.

Encouraged by these successes the siege of Kilkenny was next attempted; the garrison of which was reduced by the plague to three hundred men, and the inhabitants diminished greatly. Having summoned the town, he surrounded it; and his cannon having made a breach, he caused it to be assaulted: but his men were beaten off twice, and could not be prevailed upon to make a third attack: the breach was repaired, and CROMWELL was on the point of raising the siege, when the Mayor and citizens sent to invite him to stay, and to assure him of the place. The Governour, who was a relation of the Marquis of ORMOND's, notwithstanding this treachery, repulsed them in several places with considerable slaughter. But IRETON coming up with fifteen hundred fresh men, and Lord CASTLEHAVEN not being able to send them any succours, the garrison being few in number, and those worn out through want of rest, the Governour resolved to execute his Lordship's order; which was, if he should not be relieved the day before by seven o'clock, not to expose themselves to a massacre through any punctilio of soldiery, but make as good conditions as they could by a timely surrender. A parly was accordingly beaten; a cessation agreed on till twelve o'clock the next day; and the town and castle to be then surrendered upon honourable terms. When the Governour and officers marched out, CROMWELL said they were gallant fellows; that he had lost more men in the storming of that place against so small a garrison than he had lost in taking Drogheda; and that he should have gone away without it, had it not been for the treachery of the townsmen. This treachery

chery indeed was become universal, through the corruption of some; and the cowardice of other garrisons; and was the principal cause of the loss of most of the strong places which were taken.

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Kilkenny being secured, CROMWELL marched to Clonmell; and his summons being rejected, sat down before it. The place was defended by H. O'NEIL, with a garrison of twelve hundred Ulster Irish. The cannon having made a breach in the wall, CROMWELL ordered the assault to be given, but with so little success, that he lost above a thousand of his best men in the storm: he made a second attack; but failed again as before: he resolved therefore to wait till he could reduce it by famine. There being no way to dispose of Lord INCHQUIN's forces, that the titular Bishops had insisted should be dismissed the kingdom, but through CROMWELL's quarters, Colonel DANIEL, and Dean BOYLE, applied to him here for a pass to that purpose: but he wanted recruits for his forces so much that he desired extremely these should enter into his service. The agents having no power to treat of any such thing, he consented to the capitulation; and offered a pass for the Marquis of ORMONDE, and Lord INCHQUIN. Tho' the Dean had positive orders not to ask any thing on the behalf of either, yet the passes being offered, he accepted them, to the Marquis's great dislike: he saw it would turn to his dishonour, and be made use of, as it was made use of, to corrupt the Irish garrisons to take conditions: he returned it therefore by a trumpet, accompanied with a letter expressing his resentment at the Dean's imprudence, and " assuring CROMWELL for his unsought courtesy, that when he should desire a pass from his Lordship, and it should be granted, he would not make use of it to corrupt any that commanded under CROMWELL." Whilst this affair was transacting, CROMWELL sent a letter to Lord BROGHILL to inform him of the distressed condition in which his army was; that his men, who were very sickly, had been beaten twice with great loss; and that he must of necessity raise the siege, and go off with disgrace, and the ruin of his army, if not immediately relieved. Wherefore he conjured his Lordship, by all the ties of duty and of friendship, to desist from all other designs whatever, and to come to his assistance without delay. At the same time that he received his Lordship's answer that he would be with him in three days, he received a supply of money,

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a regiment of foot, and above two hundred horse from England; with an order from the Parliament to repair thither immediately, on account of an armament carrying on in Scotland for the King. But he could not raise the siege without the loss of his reputation. The garrison however began to be distressed through a scarcity of ammunition, and provision; and it was not in the power of the Marquis of ORMONDE to send them any relief. He had given orders to Lord CASTLECONNEL and the Sheriff to raise the county of Limerick; and the Gentlemen met, and agreed to raise three hundred horse, and eleven hundred foot for the succour of Clonmell: but this was prevented by the Commissioners of trust, who disliked and forbade that method of raising. Lord CASTLECONNEL therefore appointed another meeting, and sent to the Commissioners for their directions; desiring them to be present at it themselves, since they disapproved, and would not allow him to obey, the Lord Lieutenant's order. But the Commissioners having been satisfied with defeating that order, neither went nor vouchsafed an answer: so that the Gentlemen not knowing how to proceed, nothing could be done.

The Marquis of ORMONDE, whose patience was not to be overcome by the perverseness and ingratitude of these people, applied next to Lord ROCHE, to desire him to raise a body of men in his country, and attempt the relief of Clonmell. A party of foot, considerable only for their number, and three hundred horse, rendezvoused at Macroom; but CROMWELL detached Lord BROGHILL with five hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot in order to attack them. Lord ROCHE, upon their approach, retired further westward into a fastness; being unwilling to engage with new raised and unexperienced men: these dispersed and secured themselves in adjoining woods with little loss; but the titular Bishop of Ross, who was with them, was taken and executed the next day. Lord ROCHE, endeavoured to rally his men about Kilkenny; and sent to Lord INCHQUIN for a reinforcement of horse from the county of Clare, resolving to make another attempt to raise the siege: but Lord BROGHILL advancing, he was prevented. At last, H. O NEIL, having spent all his powder and provisions, and seeing no prospect of relief, withdrew all his garrison by night over the bridge with so much secrecy and expedition, that the enemy knew nothing of it; and the

the townsmen obtaining good conditions, on the eighteenth of May it was surrendered, and the next week CROMWELL embarked for England. It is astonishing to observe the false and inaccurate account which is given by LUDLOW in his memoirs of the proceedings of CROMWELL in Ireland: he has jumbled together the places that were not taken in one and the same campaign; and the siege of Clonmell, which lasted near two months, and which, if the powder and provision of the besieged had not failed them, CROMWELL would never have taken, LUDLOW says was at an end the night after the breach was stormed. Instead of his sending CROMWELL to England after the siege of Clonmell, we are told that he received the letters of recall to England, whilst he was preparing for the siege of Waterford: whereas the first siege of that place was raised in the year preceding, and the second siege was not undertaken till CROMWELL had been gone near three months out of the kingdom. In short there never were more errors crowded into so few pages of history, than in these memoirs of LUDLOW, with respect to Irish affairs before he went thither: my subject does not lead me to correct him in other things.

About this time Colonel SYNOT, an agent from the Duke of LORRAIN, arrived in Ireland, in order to raise recruits and levy men for his service, as he had been formerly allowed to do, and which was all that was said in the Duke's letter to the Lord Lieutenant: but SYNOT pretended the true design of his journey was to see the condition of a place which was to be mortgaged to his master, and to know whether the Irish would consent to have it put into his hands. The terrible distress of the King's affairs thro' want of money, and the hopes of retrieving them by a supply, had inclined him to hearken to the proposal of mortgaging the fort of Duncannon for four and twenty thousand pounds; and he sent orders to the Marquis of ORMONDE, if his Lordship judged it convenient, on receipt of the money, to deliver the fort. But the Duke of LORRAIN would only consign the money to be paid in Flanders, when it was certified that the place was delivered up to his agent. SYNOT however pretended that he had other letters and powers from the Duke; but being in danger of being taken at sea by a Parliament ship he had thrown them overboard. After a good deal of shuffling and delay, SYNOT, who in

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fact pretended to have more authority than he had to engage his master, said he did not find the business so feasible as he once thought it, and would meddle no more in the matter : and thus ended the treaty for the present with the Duke of LORRAIN.

When CROMWELL went for England he left his son-in-law IRETON his Lord Deputy and Commander in chief of the army. The siege of Tetroghan was then undertaken by Colonel REYNOLDS, and very gallantly defended by Sir R. TALBOT. But the place being of importance, on account of some battering pieces formerly left there, and being in danger through want of provisions, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE advanced with two thousand foot and seven hundred horse for its relief. The titular Bishop of DROMORE had lately set himself up for a General ; and had gotten a party of men together under his command in Leinster. Lord CLANRICARDE sent an order to join him with these forces ; but the Bishop not obeying it, his Lordship was not strong enough to fight the enemy who were double his number. He advanced however to Tirrel's pass, and was then to march eight miles through bogs in which their horse could be of no service. A Council of war was held on this occasion : and Lord CLANRICARDE being unable to walk, and thinking the attempt desperate, Lord CASTLEHAVEN, though General of the horse, offered to dismount some of his troopers to assist the foot, and to put himself at their head. The resolution therefore was taken, to go with fourteen hundred foot, and to carry with them ten days provision and some ammunition for the besieged. They were received within a mile of the place, at the end of the bog, with a firm piece of ground on each side, by two thousand six hundred of the enemy, posted there in two wings, and with two pieces of cannon. It seemed impossible that the Irish could escape being all cut to pieces : but Lord CASTLEHAVEN made so good a disposition of his men, that if his orders had been observed, and if Captain Fox had not ran away and ordered his men to follow him, which occasioned all the rear to do the same, it would probably have been an entire victory : near a thousand of the Irish got into the place, and there was not above forty lost in the action. Fox was afterwards shot, as he deserved to be : and it was allowed by the confession of all parties to be the most gallant enterprize since the beginning of the war.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE all this while was not able to draw any thing like the face of an army into the field, for want of money and provisions to subsist them. He could do nothing more than order risings out of several counties of all the fencible men with fourteen days provisions; and in this respect his orders were very ill obeyed. The Clergy, and their party which had always opposed the peace, triumphed in the ill successes which dejected the well affected part of the nation; and most people thought only of making compositions with the enemy. The titular Primate, and some more of their Bishops, it is said, issued precepts to their people to pray for CROMWELL's forces. Notwithstanding all ANTRIM's fancied interest with the Clergy, he could not carry the generalship of the Ulster forces, and the election had fallen on the titular Bishop of CLOGHER. The Marquis of ORMONDE was in hopes some good might have arisen from this choice; the people of Ulster being readier to follow a spiritual than a temporal guide into the field: but however fit the Bishop was to call them together, he was not so well qualified to command them in a day of action. For having now at this time sent a strong party to make an attempt upon Castle-doe in the county of Donnegall, he ventured, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, with three thousand men to fight Sir C. COOTE, who had double his number. Many of his principal officers, and fifteen hundred men were slain on the spot; and some of them after quarter given: the Bishop himself made his escape with a party of horse; but being hotly pursued was overtaken, routed again, taken prisoner, and soon after executed by order of the English Parliament. Thus all Ulster was reduced under their power.

The whole province of Leinster being in danger by the compositions making with the enemy, and the contributions of the inhabitants, Lord CASTLEHAVEN, who had the care of it, proposed to some of the Bishops to issue an excommunication against all such as were guilty of those compliances, which, he was persuaded, would leave the English as weak an enemy as ever they had to deal with: but the Bishops refused it; reserving their spiritual authority for more rebellious purposes. The Marquis of ORMONDE, perceiving that it was not now in his power to save the kingdom, communicated to some of their Bishops and the Commissioners of trust, at a se-

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cond meeting at Loghrea, the leave which the King had given him to withdraw himself, and his resolution to make use of it: but if they could propose any way to him, how he might deposit the King's authority, in such a manner as it might not be exposed to the same affronts which had been given to him, he told them that he would agree to it; and wished they might receive that happiness under another which they could not have with him. The Commissioners, who saw the irremediable confusion which his departure would introduce, laboured hard to dissuade him from his resolution: they gave him the strongest assurances of their care and earnestness to preserve the people in their obedience to him; but at the same time seemed rather to excuse, than to repent, the behaviour of the city of Limerick: upon which he told them that they could not give a better proof of their sincerity, than in endeavouring to reduce the city of Limerick immediately to its due obedience; the example of which might put the rest of the kingdom upon exerting themselves in defence of their own and the King's interest. Wherefore their Archbishop of Tuam, and SR. L. DILLON, were sent to further a negotiation with that city, in which two others had failed. Upon these assurances, the Marquis altered his design of quitting the kingdom; and dismissed a frigate which he had bought and fitted for his transportation.

The city of Limerick could not yet be brought to that entire submission which was required: they named the officer that should command their militia: they thought the number proposed for a garrison to be too great: they insisted they should be all Ulster men; that the county of Clare should be set apart entirely for their subsistence; that the town should be charged with no loans nor levies on their account; and that they should not be even quartered within the city, but in huts under the walls, and be under the command of their own Bishop, H. O'NEIL, or M. O'BRIAN. This imperfect submission afforded some small hopes that they might be brought at last to more reason, on further endeavours, and the Marquis's nearer residence: he removed therefore to Clare, quartering the troops he had with him in the neighbourhood, with orders to be ready to draw to a rendezvous. The Marquis was the rather induced to take this step, because IRETON had at this time sent an offer to Limerick of an enjoyment of the free exercise of their religion, their estates, churches, and church livings, a free trade

trade and commerce, and no garrison to be pressed upon them, provided they would submit and give a free passage to his forces through the city into the county of Clare. But this they had the grace to refuse. Lord ORMONDE having occasion to visit some of his quarters, within four miles of Limerick, and returning at night to Clare, the next day two of the Aldermen waited on him with a letter from the Mayor; intimating a disappointment that his Excellency did not make them a visit the day before when he was so near, and expecting that he would step thither to settle the garrison, which without his presence they conceived could not be so well done, or with that expedition their necessities required. Whatever encouragement might be drawn from this letter, the Aldermen not giving a satisfactory answer to some questions which the Marquis thought necessary, he wrote the Mayor word, that if satisfaction in these particulars were sent to him on the morrow to the rendezvous, he would visit the city, and endeavour to settle the garrison to their content. The particulars which the Marquis demanded, were to be received in the same manner and with the same respect as Lord Lieutenants had heretofore always been; to have the command of the guard, the giving the word, and orders in the city; and that quarters should be provided within the walls for such horse and foot as he should carry in for his guard, which should be part of the garrison, and of which a list should be given the next day at the rendezvous. On the next day, the two Aldermen met him there; and informed him that the city had consented to all his propositions except admitting his guards: to take away all possibility of suspicion, he sent them back with an answer that the guard he meant to take with him should be only a hundred foot, and fifty horse, entirely of their own religion; and that he did not propose to take them there out of any distrust of their loyalty to the King, or of their affections to himself, but for the dignity of the place he held, and to prevent any popular tumult. Not imagining there could be any demur after such an answer he went from the rendezvous towards the city: but when he drew near the gates, the same Aldermen came out to him with an account, that one friar WOLFE raised a tumult in the city to oppose his entrance; and, having forced or persuaded the keys from the Sheriff, had seized and guarded the gates. This account obliged his Excellency to retire for that night to a

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and his stay might contribute to give them a diversion, whilst the King was drawing an army together in Scotland, in order to make an attempt against them in England; but this too was very uncertain. By a fatal miscarriage he had heard nothing directly from his Majesty for six months past: and though he had heard by common report, that the King had agreed with the Scots and was gone to Edinburgh, yet if this should be true, the Marquis of ORMONDE knew nothing of his measures or his situation. To be informed of these, he sent Lord TAAFE at the latter end of June to the King; being determined to stay if possible till he had received further directions from his Majesty.

The Lord Lieutenant had discovered for some time past, that the chief view of the generality of the Irish Clergy, was to cast off the English government, and to subject the Kingdom to a foreign Popish power. To several of these powers he knew that applications had been made at different times: and with this view the Clergy had constantly aspersed and calumniated his administration with every falsehood they could invent; and these aspersions, how incredible soever, had the desired effect upon a people, devoted beyond all conception to the Clergy. The Bishops could not have forgotten, that in concert with the Nuncio they had offered the Marquis of ORMONDE the Crown of Ireland, if he would accept it, and embrace their religion; at a time too when the Confederates were in the fullness of their strength, and had great reason to hope for the assistance of all the Catholic powers of Europe: and after such a refusal, could they believe without the grossest absurdity, or if they did not believe it could they suggest without the highest iniquity, that he had now departed from his fidelity to the King, and was sacrificing his friends, his country, and his fortune, to become a vassal to CROMWELL? Under this pretence, in the beginning of August, the Irish Bishops appointed a meeting at Jamestown? from whence they sent the titular Bishop of DROMORE, and the Dean of Tuam, to signify their desire to the Marquis of ORMONDE, "that he would speedily quit the kingdom, and leave his Majesty's authority in the hands of some person, faithful to the King and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow." Though the Marquis expected no good from this meeting—of which he had received an insolent notice from two of  
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their Archbishops—yet he could not imagine their insolence would have carried them to such a length; and when he communicated the message to the Commissioners of trust, they were greatly offended: instead of returning a particular answer to the purport of their message, they desired his Excellency to appoint a meeting of their Bishops at Loghrea at the latter end of the month; when they hoped to bring them to a more decent temper, and better measures.

The Marquis of ORMONDE complied with the request of the Commissioners, though without any hopes of succeeding; and the Irish Bishops permitted him to go to Loghrea at the time appointed: but instead of meeting him there, they sent two of their body to receive his answer to their proposition for his leaving the kingdom. Being treated by them with this indignity, and there being no hopes of a conference, he wrote them a letter: he reminded them of their requesting him to stay, when upon a former disobedience he intended to have left the kingdom; and of their assurances that they would endeavour to procure him such a compliance as would enable him to carry on the war: he informed them “that he had transmitted these assurances to the King, with his own resolution to attend the effects; and though it was plain, that the division was great in the nation under his government, yet it would be greater upon his removal; of which he could have given them such pregnant evidence as he did not think fit to put into writing: that for these, and other reasons, unless he was forced by inevitable necessity, he was not willing to remove out of the kingdom. The Commissioners of trust also wrote to them in very pressing terms; conjuring them to support the King’s authority in the Marquis of ORMONDE, without which the nation would be exposed to inevitable ruin, and they would be guilty of co-operating to that ruin, and to the destruction of the royal authority; but it was all to no purpose: for the Bishops were pre-determined not to be satisfied with any thing that could be offered, or to alter the measures on which they had resolved. The reader will acknowledge that I do them no injustice in accusing them of this pre-determination, when he knows that on the DAY BEFORE their message was delivered to the Marquis of ORMONDE requiring him to leave the kingdom, they signed a declaration against the continuance of his Majesty’s authority in the Lord Lieutenant;” and  
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“ a solemn excommunication,” in which they deliver up to Satan all that should oppose or disobey it, or that should feed, help, or adhere to the Lord Lieutenant, by giving him any subsidy, contribution, or intelligence, or by obeying any of his commands.

In a few days after they had received the Marquis of ORMONDE's answer to their message, these righteous instruments—signed the day before the message was sent were published. They were published too at a time when the enemy were strong in the field; when SR. C. COOTE was advanced with a strong army to Athlone, and another party was in the county of Limerick, ready to pass the Shannon and overrun the province of Connaught. They were published too at the head of the forces under Lord CLANRICARDE; not to direct them whom to obey, but to set them loose from all government whatever military and civil; and so to leave the country exposed to the ravages of an enemy, who intended nothing less than their extirpation. Indeed the danger of losing Athlone, and the terrible consequences that would have followed, disposed a few of their Prelates assembled at Galway to send to those at Jamestown, in order to refer the publishing these two acts; but it was too late: they had published them the day before: they were suspended however—though unwillingly—for a time on this application, and that was all: for no solicitation of the Commissioners of trust, no remonstrances from Lord CLANRICARDE and others of the Nobility, could ever prevail with their Bishops to revoke them. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE's forces however did not desert him; and the Lord Lieutenant found Officers that were excommunication-proof, to whom he gave commissions. The congregation at Jamestown, before they broke up, appointed a committee to act during the recess: and these gave out commissions for levying soldiers, hoping those that would disband on their excommunication would list under their banners. The titular Bishop of KILLALOE had raised a troop, and appointed a rendezvous; but the Marquis sent out a party against him, by which his forces were dispersed, and the Bishop taken; which would have hanged him, as he deserved to be, if the Marquis of ORMONDE had not saved him, though he was one of those that signed the excommunication. The Ecclesiasticks were still however preaching up sedition, and threatening the people with divine judgments for

for contempt of the Nuncio's and their own censures ; to which they confidently imputed,—and not to such a rebellion, and to a scene of such rapine and cruelty occasioned by it as scarce any history can parallel—all the calamities which the nation had already suffered, or were then actually feeling.

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The reader may well expect to see some examples of severity made of the most rebellious of the Clergy ; who had ever since the peace disturbed the Government, and had now broken out into such acts of treason : but those who are at all acquainted with the ignorance and bigotry of the common Irish Papists, and the extravagant reverence they pay their Clergy, will not wonder that nothing of this sort was done. Let the following instance serve for all. A regiment being on their march at this time on an expedition by orders of their General, a seditious Friar put himself at their head, took the colours in his hand, and pronounced damnation to all who should presume to march any further. The principal Officers, though they were Papists, were most of them scandalized at this impudence, and gave orders again to march : but it was to no purpose : the common soldiers threw down their arms, and went every man to his home. Nor was this blind submission the only impediment to the punishment of their clergy : their immunities was another, which was insurmountable. These immunities were the grants of the civil power, in times of ignorance, when zeal served instead of religion, revocable at pleasure, and actually extinguished in these kingdoms by law : but yet the Papists of all ranks in Ireland were very zealous that their Clergy should retain the same privileges which were enjoyed by Ecclesiasticks in foreign countries. Hence no justice could be executed in a civil or martial way upon any Churchman, let his crime be ever so enormous and those who were most zealous for the King's service, and most offended at the perverseness and iniquity of their Ecclesiasticks, though they were unhaken by the spiritual censures, were yet so tender of the immunities of their Clergy, that they would not be concerned in inflicting a capital punishment on any of them, without the concurrence of their Bishops. Hence in such cases the Lord Lieutenant must have determined upon his own single judgment—for not a Protestant Officer was now left him, but the Captain of his guards—and must have executed the determination with his own hands. Hence

too

**CHARLES** too flowed all these condescensions and forbearances which  
 II. he used, and his endeavours by persuation to keep those  
 A. 1650. Prelates from any ruinous resolutions rather than treating  
 them as enemies whom he could not punish. The reader  
 however may spare his indignation at their perverseness  
 and iniquity; there was but one plan of putting an end  
 to them, and that plan, he will soon see, **CROMWELL**  
 executed with a vengeance; but who will say that such  
 men deserved a better master than he was, or better  
 treatment than he gave them? I verily think, no body,  
 who hath read this history.

Whilst the Marquis of **ORMONDE** was engaged in  
 these fruitless attempts to put the kingdom into a state  
 of defence, **IRETON** and his forces were ranging over it  
 almost at pleasure. The particulars of taking so many  
 castles and towns without any opposition, would afford  
 no entertainment if I should recite them, and therefore  
 they are omitted. In the mean time they had closely  
 blocked up the city of **Waterford**, and the fort of  
**Duncannon**; and as soon as the other places had  
 surrendered, so as nothing else was left to the Irish  
 in **Leinster**, or in **Munster**, but these two places,  
 they were more closely besieged. There were four  
 thousand foot, and two thousand horse in **Waterford**,  
 under **PRESTON** who was the Governor, and the place  
 had been considerably fortified: but their provisions  
 failing, and imagining by the burning of the suburbs  
 that the whole army was at their gates, many of the  
 garrison fled over the water, and the rest capitulated.  
 After the reduction of **Waterford**, **Duncannon**,  
 which had been thinned considerably by the plague,  
 fell without any trouble, with all the arms and  
 ammunition. The castle of **Carlow**, seated on the  
**Barrow**, was taken by a device in the following  
 manner. The country on the other side, being  
 friends to those in the castle, and furnishing them  
 with provisions, **IRETON** found it was necessary  
 to employ the principal part of his forces on the  
 other side of the river: but by what means to  
 secure a communication between the two parts  
 when thus divided was a great difficulty, having  
 neither boats nor casks for such a purpose. They  
 brought therefore together great quantities of the  
 largest reeds, and tying them up in many little  
 bundles with small cords, they fastened them to  
 two cables fixed in the ground on each side the  
 river, at the distance of eight or ten yards from  
 each other: and these, being covered with wattles,  
 bore troops of horse and



and companies of foot as well as a bridge arched with stone. This expedient having enabled IRETON to beat down a little castle at the foot of the bridge on the other side the river, the place was surrendered upon articles. We must now leave Ireland to inform ourselves of the King's condition of whom nothing had been known there for several months.

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We left the King at Jersey, agreeing to enter into a personal treaty with the Scots at Breda: and when their Commissioners came thither, they offered such a set of unreasonable propositions, that they were even ashamed to publish them: it was thought impossible indeed that any agreement could be made on those terms, or indeed any agreement at all, unless the Commissioners had more power to recede than the Scots usually trusted with their agents. His Majesty had only two of his old Councillors with him, Lord HOPTON, and SR. E. NICHOLAS; and they delivered their advice fully and clearly, that the King ought not to approve or allow of the solemn League and Covenant in any sort, either in Scotland, or in either of his other kingdoms; but the King having caused the Dukes of BUCKINGHAM, and HAMILTON, and the Marquis of NEWCASTLE, to be sworn of his Council on this occasion, the two old ones were set aside after the first day's debate; the Scots insisting that they should be excluded as parties, because one of the propositions was, that none of the late King's Council, nor any that had served in the war against the Parliament without taking the covenant, should go with the King to Scotland. The treaty was carried on therefore with the three new Councillors; and his Majesty himself and all that attended him were to take the covenant, before they were to be admitted to set their foot in Scotland. A man knows not what he doth when he makes the first deviation from the paths of virtue: it is as hard almost to stop in the way of vice, as it is in running down a precipice. There are natural guards planted by Providence in the human frame, to keep them from certain profligate and vicious actions: these are found by experience to be the best natural restraints in all such cases; and the persons who can once get over them, are fit almost for any thing. Of all the actions of meanness, none are more detestable than falshood and ingratitude, breach of faith, desertion of friends, hypocrisy, and dissimulation: and yet these were the actions into which these new Councillors were

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were hurrying their King, at his entrance into the world, and on his first appearing in one of his kingdoms. He was young and inexperienced, full of good inclinations, affected as yet with his father's dying instructions; which charged him never to abandon his friends, nor give up his religion, upon any consideration whatsoever. He was now going to Scotland to renounce them all: to sacrifice his friends in a compliment to those who had been his father's ruin, and who meant to treat him as a slave; to submit to conditions to which his heart did not agree, and which he could not with any honour observe; to quit his own principles in religion; to establish Presbyterianism in all his dominions: and whilst he was doing all this contrary to his real sentiments, he was in the most solemn manner to call upon the searcher of hearts to attest the sincerity of his professions, promises, and intentions. No wonder that such a thorough deliberate profligacy as this should corrupt the integrity of his heart, and lay the foundation of the libertine irreligious course of life which he led for ever after: but those about him, having no principles of their own but what would yield to interest, cared not what became of their Prince's honour, conscience, or reputation. Duke HAMILTON made him believe—and perhaps believed so himself—that he might defer taking the covenant till he came into Scotland, under a pretence of desiring to be better instructed; and when he was there he should not be importuned about it. But the King was not permitted to land till he had taken the covenant; and this very Duke HAMILTON, who had undertaken so much, and persuaded him to it, was not suffered to continue with him, but was obliged to retire into obscurity. Several papers were brought him to which he was required to set his hand; being told in plain terms by ARGYLE, in whose power he was, that without that compliance he should have no authority over the people, and with an intimation easy enough to be understood, that his person should soon be put under restraint. Among others papers, there was a declaration in his name, by which the peace concluded by the Marquis of ORMONDE with the Irish, was declared to be void, upon the supposed unlawfulness of concluding any peace with that nation: and though he had frequently declared by letters to the Marquis, that he would never condescend to any thing prejudicial to that peace, yet he had gone too far now to go back, or make a stand. This declaration

declaration was therefore signed; in which he acknowledged his father's sinfulness, his mother's idolatry, and his own sorrow for making peace with Papists: and the commission granted by him to any in Ireland were revoked.

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When the Marquis of ORMONDE first heard of this transaction in Scotland, so diametrically opposite to the King's principles and resolution, he looked upon it as a forgery contrived by his Majesty's enemies, in order to seduce the people from their loyalty and affection. But in the middle of October, the Dean of Tuam came to him out of Scotland with a letter of credence from his Majesty, and an account of the unfair, and at last violent manner, in which that declaration had been obtained from him. He had resolutely refused it for three days: but finding that his liberty if not his life depended upon it, and considering the violation of the peace by the Irish, and their disobedience to his Lord Lieutenant, at last, though not without unspeakable regret, he signed the declaration. The King at the same time assured the Dean of Tuam, that he was a true friend to the Church of England, and would continue firm to his father's and his own principles; that the Marquis of ORMONDE was the man on whom he depended more than any one living: and though he was afraid the declaration he had been forced to sign might prejudice him, yet as his Majesty could do nothing of that sort without the advice of his Council—which he had not had about it—the declaration could not be binding upon Ireland: that he was resolved wholly to be governed in the affairs of that kingdom by Lord ORMONDE; that the Scots had used him monstrously, and he accounted it a great error and misfortune that he had not gone into Ireland when the Lord Lieutenant invited him: out of regard to whose safety he bid the Dean tell him, that the King desired him to withdraw himself in time, and not land in Scotland, but go to Holland, or France, where he should not fail to hear often from his Majesty. The King was young, and greatly to be pitied: for I very much question whether the embarking so early in a course of the most prophane dissimulation, in taking the covenant which he did not believe, and in solemnly swearing to observe it when nothing was further from his intention, did not loosen him so much as to make him think, at least to act ever after as if he thought, that no obligations were binding upon him. Whether this were so or not, there is no doubt I believe to be made, that the reli-

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religious cant without any meaning, the pretended zeal without any truth, the formalism without any virtue, and the whole days of Pharisaical devotion without any goodness in the heart, of all which he was an eye-witness and obliged to be a partaker at that time in Scotland, that these disgusted and sowered him against all the externals of religion, and made him sit loose to all religion itself. The observation might be carried very usefully much further : but it would be beside the purpose of this work, which relates to former times ; and therefore I shall return to the history.

The Marquis of ORMONDE had hitherto staid in Ireland, because that he found his going away would increase the divisions of the nation ; and that those who had been most active in procuring the peace would sooner submit to any conditions from the Commonwealth, than live under the tyrannical Government of the Clergy, and those that opposed the peace. For this reason, and in hopes that by keeping the English forces employed in Ireland he might contribute to the advantage of the King's designs on England, he had chosen to sacrifice his quiet and his safety to the vexations he daily met with, and the treachery he had cause to fear, rather than be wanting to what he owed his country, and his Majesty's service. But having been long since convinced by fatal experience, that he could no longer serve the former, and having now the King's consent by the Dean of Tuam to relinquish the Government, and to leave his authority with Marquis of CLANRICARDE, he saw no reason to detain him any longer there. He judged it necessary however first to quiet the minds of the people about the King's declaration in Scotland ; of which the Clergy had taken hold to enflame them, and to justify their proceedings at Jamestown, though they had been prior to it. To this purpose, the Marquis of ORMONDE wrote to the Commissioners of trust ; assuring them that as the King had been obliged, against his will, to sign the declaration for voiding the Irish peace, so his Excellency was resolved at all hazards to assert its lawfulness, and the validity of it to bind his Majesty and all his subjects ; in which he would himself persist, till the King, being well informed and under no restraint, should declare his pleasure respecting those affronts which had been put upon the royal authority. But if the Marquis did this on his part, he informed the Commissioners that it should be on these condi-

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ons on their part ; First, that their Bishops should revoke all their acts and declarations against his authority ; and give assurances of no such like attempts again. Secondly, that the Commissioners should declare them to be an unwarrantable usurpation upon the King's authority, and a violation of the peace ; and if the Bishops would not yield to the first condition, that the Commissioners should endeavour to bring them to Punishment. Thirdly, that all Magistrates and Officers civil and military should make the like declaration. Fourthly, that the Lord Lieutenant should reside freely in any place he should choose within the limits not possessed by the English rebels. Fifthly, that he should be permitted to put garrisons according to the articles of the peace, in all places of which he should approve for the defence of the kingdom. On the next day, the Commissioners returned an answer ; professing their reverence for the King's authority, and their resolution to do what was in their power for his Majesty's service, and his Excellency's satisfaction : that they would treat with the Prelates to revoke their acts and censures, which they knew to be invasions on the royal authority ; though a public declaration of it might incense the Bishops, and endanger the union so necessary to preserve the nation : but if the Marquis would call a General Assembly, and in the mean time if those censures should be revived, they would not fail to publish a declaration against them, and would give him satisfaction in the other points to the best of their power. The Commissioners went to Galway, in order to treat with the committee of the Congregation ; and they earnestly pressed the Ecclesiasticks to revoke the declaration and excommunication issued at Jamestown : but the Bishops absolutely refused ; and said, that as the King had by his late declaration cast the Irish nation out of his protection, they had nothing to do but to return to their old oath of association. No remedy was now left but a General Assembly ; which the Marquis of ORMONDE, though without hopes of success, called to meet at Loughrea on the fifteenth of November. In the mean time we will see what the disunion of the Irish, the great success and the active spirit of IRETON, had made him attempt with the English forces.

Having well refreshed and recruited his army at Waterford after the taking of Duncannon, he intended to advance with it to Limerick ; which he had already

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blocked

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blocked up at a distance by Colonel INGOLDSBY: but finding his provisions grow scarce; he marched through the county of Wicklow; which afforded him sixteen hundred head of cattle and abundance of sheep. These he divided with SR. HARD. WALLER, and sent him with a considerable force to streighten Limerick still nearer. WALLER took three strong castles in his way thither: and IRETON, joining his army to SR. C. COOTE's, advanced to Athlone in order to take in that garrison: but finding the bridge broken, and the town on that side burnt, COOTE was left to block it up; and IRETON, who took two castles in his way, joined his army before Limerick. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE retook the two castles, and laid siege to Burr with a part of his army, whilst he advanced to the relief of Limerick. IRETON, on this intelligence, sent orders to the Governour of Kilkenny, to march with the Wexford and Tipperary forces to raise the siege of Burr, which they effected; with the loss to the Irish of near fifteen hundred men, two hundred herfes, their waggons and baggage. The Irish upon this defeat quitted all the adjacent garrisons; and and IRETON, the winter being come on, drew off his army from Limerick: he first settled all the garrisons round about it, and then taking Nenagh and two other castles, on the tenth of November, he came to his winter quarters at Kilkenny. We must now therefore return to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Irish.

Many of the titular Bishops and of the Nobility not arriving on the day appointed for the General Assembly at Loghrea, the Marquis of ORMONDE's letter to them was not delivered till the twenty fifth, when SR. R. BLAKE, as usual, was chosen Chairman. The Assembly was then very full, and composed of the principal Nobility and Gentry of fortune and interest left in the kingdom: far the greatest part of them being well affected to the Crown, and very averse to the proceedings of the Ecclesiasticks. Several of the most learned and pious Clergy, both secular and regular, very heartily detested the late measures of the Congregation at Jamestown: and even some of the Bishops, whose names were to those acts, declared against them; as being obtruded on them by the majority, or signed by their proxies without their knowledge. The Marquis of ORMONDE acquainted the Assembly in his letter, that it was his intencion to leave the kingdom very shortly: and desiring them to consider of the most probable

ble ways of preserving it from ruin, assured them that he would contribute his best endeavours to it before his departure very gladly. In this Assembly it was thought proper that the Lord Lieutenant should make an answer in form to the declaration of the Bishops at Jamestown; though the matter of it had been already refuted by him more than once. He himself thought it unnecessary to reply to such a collection of notorious falsehoods as were contained in the declaration; which all men of sense and knowledge abhorred throughout the kingdom. But submitting to the judgment of those, who, he knew wished well to their country, and who desired the preservation of the royal authority, he sent another letter to the Assembly, containing a clear and ample refutation of all the calumnies with which the declaration of the Prelates was filled.

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The Marquis of ORMONDE had just then received another letter by MR. DIGBY from the King at perth; giving him an account of the miserable situation he was in through the tyranny and falsehood of the Scots; and intreating him to consult his safety, and to repair to his brother the Duke of York in France, to whom he had sent instructions to be advised by his Excellency upon all occasions. The Marquis was therefore determined to leave the kingdom: but he had not determined to leave the king's authority behind him, lest it should be insulted in other hands as it had been in his own: if he did leave it with any body, he resolved it should be left with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, as the only person in the kingdom fit for so high a trust; and that it should not be left with those whom the Bishops had presumed to nominate. The Assembly were very sensible of the invasion made by the late acts of the Clergy, as well on the liberties of their country, as on the authority of the Crown; and were desirous to vindicate both. They saw plainly the distraction into which the nation would fall, if the Lord Lieutenant departed without leaving them under a settled Government; and that the consequence would be a ready submission upon any terms to the commonwealth. They acknowledged therefore the great testimony he had given of his affection to his country in thus calling them together; and since he was upon his departure, they intreated him to leave the King's authority with some person acceptable to the nation, and faithful to his Majesty's service. In answer to this address, he told them that

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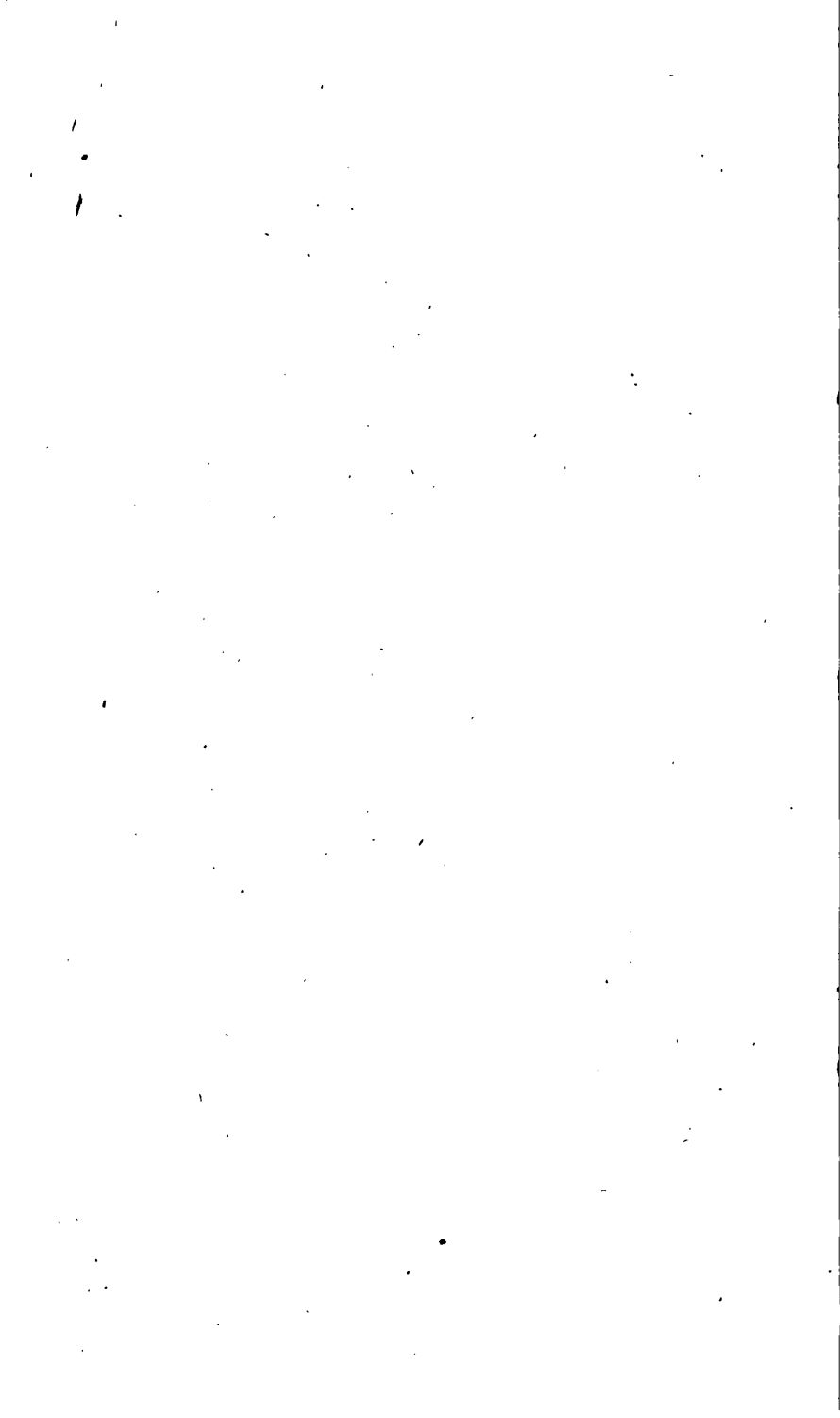
when he should hear they had publicly vindicated the King's authority from the affronts already offered it in his person, and had provided it should not be subject to the same again, he would readily condescend to their request: and as he was confident they would not be wanting to themselves in manifesting their dislike of the late proceedings of the Clergy, so he expected their speedy sense of it before the wind became favourable for his sailing. They were too much divided, and the Bishops had too much influence, for so large an Assembly to be so speedy in their resolutions: and the wind turning fair, on the sixth of December the Marquis resolved to embark. He had refused a pass, as we have seen; his going away could not fail to be known to IRETON: and lest he should send some of his ships to block up the harbour, the Marquis sent an authority to Lord CLANRICARDE to act as Deputy in his stead. The Assembly might possibly make such a declaration, as, if it overtook him, might induce him to take this step; and therefore he desired the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to keep it to himself, and not to use it, unless the proceedings of the Assembly should encourage him so to do; and then went on board. The Assembly being informed that he was embarked without appointing a deputy, the Chairman wrote to him the same day by their command, that they were preparing a declaration which they conceived would conduce to his Majesty's service, the union of the nation, and his Excellency's satisfaction; that they should be ready to present it the next night; and intreated him to stay till that time to receive it. Lord ORMONDE was under sail in the bay of Galway when he received this letter; but came to an anchor, as they had desired, to wait for the declaration, which was brought to him by the Lords CLANRICARDE, and DILLON, and two others. The declaration, though it carried with it a particular respect to the Lord Lieutenant, and an acknowledgment of his zeal and service for his country, yet was not so full and explicit as might be expected; but the Marquis sent them word, that he had given authority to the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to govern the kingdom, provided their declaration was so far explained as to give his Lordship full satisfaction with regard to the expressions they had made use to declare their obedience. He then communicated to the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, that he desired



desired him to insist on their declaring, that by the King's authority they meant the power entrusted by him with any Governour of the kingdom, and that there was no power in any persons to set free or discharge the people from their disobedience to any such Governour during his commission. This affair being adjusted, and taking Lord INCHQUIN, Colonel WOGAN, and forty other Officers besides several passengers in his frigate, which the Duke of YORK had sent for him, on the ninth of December the Marquis of ORMONDE put to sea, leaving the infatuated Irish to their own destruction: and though the end of his government very properly puts a period to this book, yet I cannot conclude it, nor take leave of the Marquis of ORMONDE's administration, without once more holding him out as an example, in this selfish age, to the great men of his own country, and of mine; an example which few have ever equalled, which hath been exceeded by none, and which is worthy to be imitated by all.

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II.

A. 1659.





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H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
R E B E L L I O N and C I V I L W A R  
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B O O K V I I I.

**I**T hath already been observed in the preceding book, that CROMWELL had been sent for out of Ireland, at the latter end of May, to prepare for an expedition against the Scots; who had acknowledged the King, and had agreed to invade England in his favour. The people in authority here, who still retained the name of the Parliament, thought it adviseable that their army should march into Scotland, the powers there having already declared themselves their enemies, and to make that country the seat of war instead of their own. Upon the refusal of FAIRFAX to command the army in Scotland, CROMWELL was made Captain General: and the time of his departure for the expedition drawing near, he moved the Council of State, that since they had employed him about a work which would require all his care, they would be pleased to ease him of the affairs of Ireland: this

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BORLASE.  
CLAREND.  
CLANRICA.  
COX.  
CARTE.  
LUDLOW.  
CASTLEHA.  
THRULOX.  
MORRICE.  
M. S.

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this they absolutely refused, as well knowing he did not desire it: he then recommended their sending over some Commissioners for the management of the civil affairs, and a General Officer to command the horse; as an assistant to IRETON in the military, and to be also one of the Commissioners. Upon a representation of this advice to the Parliament, it was ordered that CROMWELL, IRETON, LUDLOW now made General of Horse in Ireland, Colonel JONES, MR. CORBET, and MR. WEAVER, or any three, should be Commissioners for the administration of the civil affairs of that nation: but the principal business, it is very evident, was to find out some means for raising large annual sums for the maintenance of the army, and the conclusion of the war in Ireland. This being all that was done relating to that kingdom in this year by the English Parliament, we must now return to the General Assembly of the Irish at Loughrea; which we left when the Marquis of ORMONDE quitted the Government.

The Lord Lieutenant was no sooner under sail, than the Assembly applied themselves to the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to assume the Government of the kingdom as Lord Deputy, according to the powers given him. The Marquis was at that time in a very ill state of health, and much afflicted at the departure of the Lord Lieutenant; with whom he had held an intimate and a cordial friendship from the beginning of this rebellion. But if he was concerned at his departure through the entire affection he had ever borne his Excellency, his concern was greatly heightened, at the manner in which this great and most powerful friend of the nation was driven out of it. No little perplexity attended the Lord Deputy too on his own account. He was either to take upon himself a Government, in which he was to struggle with many wants, and a very powerful and successful enemy, or by laying aside the thoughts of accepting the King's authority, to destroy all the hopes of preserving his interests there, or of protecting those who had been faithful to his Majesty, and as lovers of their country attached to his friend the Marquis of ORMONDE. However upon consideration of the whole affair with Lord CASTLEHAVEN, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE determined to take upon him the Government;—though it was little less than to sacrifice himself and his fortune—if the Assembly would give him the satisfaction which was desired. This satisfaction, it hath

hath been mentioned, related to their obedience to the King's authority, in the person of his Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy. The Marquis therefore required this explanation to be made before he would execute his commission; but the Bishops would neither revoke their own acts, nor allow any thing to pass which in the least reflected upon them. The explanation however was necessary to be made; and the Marquis insisted upon it. An instrument therefore was drawn up, declaring that all obedience should be given to the King's authority invested in the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, or any other Governour who had not taken the covenant or violated the articles of the peace, and that it should not lie in the power of any to take away that obedience. The Marquis desired it might be added, "or to set free and discharge the people upon any pretence whatsoever from yielding obedience to the power entrusted by his Majesty with any Governour:" but they would not consent to it. The Bishop of Limerick said, that such ties and declarations were not necessary: but if his Excellency suspected the Prelates, they would give him all the satisfaction he could expect, by taking their oath before the altar on their knees, that they would pay him the same obedience which any Catholic Clergy in Catholic times had given to a Catholic Governour.

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II.

A. 1659.

The Marquis would have been glad to have had the declaration of the Assembly couched in stronger terms; and there was a great number of the best quality in it, who offered him to make any declaration he would direct; which it was their opinion they could carry by vote: but being carried in that manner, with such public disgrace to the Ecclesiasticks, it would produce such protestations and divisions as would end in the ruin of all. Upon consideration of these circumstances, and in hopes that a present union of the Irish might give the enemy such a diversion as might advantage the King's affairs in his other kingdoms, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE received the declaration, defective as it was, and declared his acceptance of the Government. There was then in the possession of the Roman Catholics all the province of Conaught; in which there was the strong castle of Athlone, the strong and important town of Galway and its harbour, and many other lesser forts and places of strength: they had some of the inland parts of Munster, besides the city of Limerick; which, by the strength of

its

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its situation, and the advantages it might have by sea, could alone, with the assistance of Galway, have maintained a war against the English forces in Ireland: they had several parties of horse and foot in Leinster, and Ulster, which drawn together would constitute a better army than the enemy's. Wherefore the Lord Deputy had reason enough to hope, that if he could be confident of the integrity and the affections of the Clergy to procure an union in the nation, he might yet be able to serve the King, and reduce it to his obedience. But these hopes were of a short continuance.

In a few days after the Marquis of CLANRICARDE had taken the Government upon him on their great importunity, even before any alteration in their affairs, or any further success of the enemy, it was proposed in the Assembly to enter on a treaty with the English for surrendering all that was left in their hands; the Bishop of FERNES himself insisting upon it, that a treaty was necessary to undeceive and cure them of all expectations of good terms from the enemy. But the Lord Deputy expressed his dislike of any motion, which, under a pretence of undeceiving the people, was the ready way to inveigle them, and to make them stupid and negligent of their own preservation. He represented to them, that if there were any grounds for their despair, they ought to have discovered them before their importunities for the continuance of the King's authority; that he had sent dispatches to his Majesty with an account of their condition, and was confident he should soon receive either relief or a licence to withdraw the royal authority, and to permit them to treat for their preservation: but till he received the King's pleasure, he could not consistent with his duty, honour, and safety, admit of any treaty: that the way to undeceive the people was by an excommunication against the Irish, who served under the enemy, and such as advise a submission to them: by proclamations of giving none such any quarter; and by forbidding, on the highest penalties, any private or public treaty by any province, county, town, or person. The motion being set aside on this representation, the Bishop of FERNES, who had been the most active tool of the Nuncio, and was of the same temper, threw off the mask. He had been particularly importunate with the Marquis a few days before to assume the Government; and made ample promises of the entire submission of the Clergy to him: but  
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now he moved "that in order to their better defence they should return to their ancient confederacy, and so proceed in their preservation without any respect to the King's authority." Most of the Bishops and Clergy, and many others in the Assembly concurring in this motion, the principal Nobility, and Gentry, and Officers in the army, were enraged to the last degree: they told them it was now manifest, that it was not their prejudice to the Marquis of ORMOND, nor their zeal for their religion, that had transported them to the lengths they had gone; but their dislike of the King's authority, and their resolution to withdraw themselves from it: that they themselves for their parts would constantly submit to it, and defend it with their utmost hazard as long as they were able; and when a treaty with the enemy could be deferred no longer, they would make no provision for those who were so forward to exclude the King's authority. A remonstrance in such bold and threatening language as they had not been accustomed to, surprised the Ecclesiastics; and they promised to employ all the necessary measures of defence: but from this time, all the factions and jealousies which had been before amongst them were revived. For though an excommunication was denounced by the Bishops, and a proclamation issued by the Lord Deputy, at the desire of the Assembly, against all persons that served in the army of the enemy or entered into treaty with them, yet in all the quarters which the enemy possessed, the Irish submitted and compounded, and many of them served in their army.

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In the preceding book there was an account of a treaty with the Duke of LORRAIN for mortgaging the fort of Duncannon: it was a little before this time renewed by the Duke of YORK, who sent letters of credence to him by Lord TAAFE. The Duke of LORRAIN objected that no body had authority from the King to conclude with him: but TAAFE being a bold and forward undertaker in all cases, engaged that any place in the King's possession in Ireland should be delivered into his hands, as a security for the repayment of any money which his Highness should advance for his Majesty's service there. Upon this assurance, and perhaps with some interested views, the Duke immediately delivered five thousand pounds to TAAFE to purchase arms and ammunition; which arrived at Galway when the Assembly were debating about the treaty with the English. In a few days after,

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after, the Duke, by agreement with TAAFE, sent the Abbot of St. CATHARINES as his Ambassador into Ireland, to conclude a treaty with those who were in authority, for such a fund of money and other necessaries as might probably recover the kingdom. The Abbot landed at Galway after the Assembly had adjourned; and after the Lord Deputy had issued out his orders for all their forces in the province to meet at a general rendezvous in order to engage the enemy. In his way to Athlone for that purpose, the Lord Deputy received a letter from four of the Commissioners of trust, desiring him before he went any further to repair to Tyrellan, to give an audience to the Ambassador from the Duke of LORRAIN; for though his credential was directed to the Prelates, and the Catholic Nobility, and Gentry of the kingdom—the Duke of LORRAIN not knowing that the Marquis of ORMONDE had left a Deputy—yet when the Abbot found that the King's authority was lodged with the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, he refused to make application to any one else. A public audience was accordingly given at Tyrellan by the Marquis to the Abbot: in which, after making an apology because his credential was not addressed to his Excellency, the Abbot assures him that the Duke had already disbursed six thousand pistoles for supplying the Irish with those things of which they stood most in need, and which were brought over by Father DILLON who came with him: that he was ready to be informed of what they would desire from his Highness which might enable them to resist the enemy; and that he would consent to any thing reasonable for him to undertake.

After the ceremony of the audience was over, the Marquis saw F. DILLON, who gave him letters from Lord TAAFE, and acquainted him with the proposals made by the Duke of LORRAIN: which, being little less than a total transferring of the Crown of Ireland to him, made the Marquis repent he had given the Ambassador such a reception. But this being past, and to avoid any censure by taking the treaty upon himself, he sent for such of the Commissioners of trust, and of the Prelates as were then at Galway, to advise with them upon it. F. DILLON being a friend of theirs, and probably let into the secret of the Duke of LORRAIN's expectations, it was thought fit in the first place to desire he would inform them clearly, what would satisfy the Duke, for the aids



aids he should afford them for the King's service, and their preservation. The next day F. DILLON delivered in such proposals as he thought would be expected by the Duke, and which were to no less a purpose than to invite him over and put the kingdom into his possession; of which he, his heirs, and successors, should be accepted as Protectors, with the same power ample obedience, and fidelity, as by all laws are due to Protectors royal. The Marquis being amazed to receive proposals so inconsistent with the King's authority, and finding it impossible for him to come any thing near to such demands, he determined to put the treaty into the hands of those with whom he first advised; adding some other Bishops and persons of quality who had gone to Galway on the report of the Embassy. They were unanimous in opinion, that an agreement should be made with the Duke of LORRAIN as Protector of the kingdom, by giving him cautionary towns for the re-imbursment of his expences; but so as not to prejudice the King's right or government, the liberties of corporations, or the people of Ireland. Upon this the Marquis appointed a committee to treat with the Ambassador; but not to conclude any thing with him. Instead of this, they received proposals from the Abbot of a very extraordinary nature, without communicating them to the Lord Deputy: and had altered the committee appointed by his Lordship without his consent.

The Marquis complained therefore to them by letter of these proceedings, and of the overtures from the Abbot; which, after all the professions of his Master's readiness to serve the King, were plainly calculated to overthrow his government, and to extinguish his authority there for ever. He informed them that it was neither in his, nor in the nation's power, to dispose of the kingdom to any foreign Prince: but their affairs, bad as they were, were not yet so desperate as to drive them to such extremity: and as he hoped the Duke of LORRAIN and his Envoy would afford them assistance upon reasonable conditions, he sent them such proposals as he himself approved of, to be treated on by the Abbot and the Committee which he had appointed: and as the Abbot had declared that he had no power to conclude any thing in Ireland for further supplies, but that important article must be concluded with the Duke, so his Excellency thought it not proper to conclude any thing finally there in the King's behalf. Nevertheless, if the Abbot would ad-

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vance a considerable sum, his Lordship would venture to give a security for the money on the towns of Limerick and Galway. The return made by the Committee to these proposals, was that the Abbot was contented the treaty should take its final effect at Brussels, between his Highness and such Commissioners as should be deputed from the Irish: but notwithstanding the cautionary towns offered, he could not at present part with any supplies upon so imperfect a treaty. Two days after, the Bishops and Gentry at Galway declared to the Lord Deputy, by letter from their Archbishop of TUAM, that they saw no way for the preservation of the Catholick religion, and his Majesty's interest in that kingdom, and the lives and fortunes of his subjects, than by concluding with the Lorrain Ambassador upon his own terms; which were much the same with those already mentioned. To this the Marquis replied, that before he descended to give any answer to the proposals, he held it a necessary duty in him to expect that all such as had been said to have given this opinion should set their hands to the paper of proposals and advice; and that the Committee which he had named should require the Abbot to give it under his hand, that he would not agree upon any less terms than he had offered in his proposals, or if he would admit of any qualifications, they should be set down and signed: when these directions were performed, the Marquis then promised to give a full and final resolution under his hand. But the Prelates and Gentry would not own under their hands the advice they had given the Lord Deputy; nor would the Abbot sign his proposals. In four days after however, their Archbishop of TUAM sent another letter in the name of the Prelates and Gentry of Galway to his Excellency, informing him that the Lorrain Ambassador having abated of some of his terms, it was their unanimous sense that he should be complied with rather than break with him; as seeing no other way for their preservation. But the Marquis declared, that even these were so derogatory to the honour of the King, and so destructive to his interests, that his Lordship would never agree to them, and was resolved instantly to leave the town. This resolution being communicated to the Abbot, he sent to desire to see his Excellency, and to take leave of him before he went. To this request the Marquis replied in a written message, that he could not admit of any such offers of civility, from a per-  
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son that had so affronted and injured the King's honour and interest, by the proposals which were affirmed to be such as he would insist on; and that his Excellency would send expresses of his own to the King, and the Duke of LORRAIN, with an account of this negotiation. This message, joined to the earnest instance of the Prelates who went in a body to the Ambassador, produced an agreement from him at last, that he would advance twenty thousand pounds—the six thousand already paid being part—for the defence of the nation, on the cautionary towns of Limerick and Galway; and that all other particulars might be remitted to a treaty, between the Duke of LORRAIN and such Commissioners as the Lord Deputy should send to Brussels. Articles were accordingly executed between his Lordship and the Abbot, on the fourth of April; in consequence of which, the Marquis sent SR. N. PLUNKET, and Mr. G. BROWN, to treat, in conjunction with Lord TAAFE, with the Duke of LORRAIN for further supplies upon caution; but nothing more, without a direction in writing from the Queen, the DUKE of YORK, or the Lord Lieutenant. We must leave therefore this negotiation for the present, and turn to the operation of the two armies.

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The winter months had been spent by IRETON in preparing every thing necessary for an early campaign; in making provision of tents, arms, clothes, and bread; and in sending cannon and ammunition of all sorts up the Shannon in ships and vessels towards Limerick, intending to open the campaign with the siege of that place. The Commissioners of Parliament employed themselves, in resolving after what manner the public justice should be administered in each division, till the state of affairs could be better regulated; and in laying a tax upon the nation, besides the customs and excise, for the maintenance of the war. A proclamation was published by them to prohibit the killing any lambs or calves for a whole year, in order to raise the stock of cattle that had been so much exhausted. Before IRETON took the field, he had a mind to remove so able a General as Lord CASTLEHAVEN out of his way. To this purpose he sent him a letter by a trumpet, setting forth the power and justice of the Parliament, the ill company his Lordship kept, the little time he could subsist, and the great value that IRETON had for his person; offering him, if he would retire and live in England, that he should enjoy his estate, and

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live in safety and favour with the Parliament. Lord CASTLEHAVEN answered his letter by the same trumpet; rejected his offer, and desired not to hear from him again upon that errand. The Irish forces having retreated into Conaught, in order to keep strong guards on the Shannon which covered the province, the reduction of Limerick could not take place till it was blocked up on both sides. To effect this, it was resolved that SR. C. COOTE, who had four or five thousand horse and foot, should march into Conaught by Ballyshannon, a passage on the Ulster side not far distant from the sea; and that REYNOLDS should go with his regiment of horse to their assistance.

The army when drawn out of their winter-quarters was ordered to rendezvous at Cashel; from whence they marched to that part of the Shannon which lies opposite to Killaloo. Here lay Lord CASTLEHAVEN with two thousand horse and foot, disposed along the side of the river, and defended with breast-works for their security, in order to obstruct IRETON's passage. But by the treachery of the officer, the English General made himself master of a pass, whilst his Lordship was hastening with some troops to oppose him. At the same time Colonel FENNEL, to whom Lord CASTLEHAVEN had left the defence of Killaloo, either cowardly or treacherously quitted it, and fled with his party into Limerick. Whilst this success was carrying on, SR. C. COOTE and REYNOLDS, who had taken Athlone, were entered into Conaught as far as Athenree: and the ships were come up the river of Limerick with the artillery and ammunition for the siege of that place. IRETON being thus become master of the Shannon, and Lord CASTLEHAVEN's men disbanding after taking the pass at Killaloo, so that he could give no assistance to the Lord Deputy to engage the English, the siege of Limerick was undertaken. The Marquis offered to put himself into the place, and to run the same fortune with it; but was refused as peremptorily as the Lord Lieutenant had been before. The citizens indeed were willing to receive some forces, but they must be those of their own choosing: and though they admitted H. O NEIL with the name of Governor, yet they kept the exercise of the government to themselves, and would obey no commands of the Lord Deputy which they disliked. There was a continual correspondence between the inhabitants of the town, and those who

who had compounded with the enemy in the country ; by which means the English did not want intelligence. In short the siege had not been formed three days, before some of the citizens were for treating of a surrender ; and though they knew that Lord MUSKERY was advancing with a strong party to relieve them. IRETON had made an attack upon the island, and was repulsed with great loss ; and he had lost many men by hard service, change of food, and alteration of the climate. But whilst the siege was carrying on, a reinforcement of above three thousand foot arrived from England ; and Lord BROGHILL being sent against Lord MUSKERY, after a resolute dispute defeated him ; killing many of his men, and taking others prisoners, with little loss on the side of the English. These Successes notwithstanding, the Irish were not without hopes, that either the badness, or the scarcity of provision, or the plague, would constrain the enemy to raise the siege. They sent great numbers of the people out of the town, as useless in their defence, or to spread the contagion amongst the besiegers : but IRETON returned them, and threatened to shoot any that should attempt to come out again. He knew very well the disputes there were in the city about surrendering ; and by letters and messages he endeavoured what he could to foment the division : declaring against several by name, who were the most active and obstinate in holding out, that they should have no benefit of the articles to be agreed on. This at last wrought such an effect, that some of the Magistrates and the Officers met in the town-house, and resolved to proceed to a treaty ; which should not be broken off, upon exception of any person for quarter, or confiscation, of goods. Commissioners were to be chosen the next day to send to IRETON : but the Bishops of LIMERICK, and EMILY, came to the town-house, and threatened to excommunicate them, if they proceeded in those counsels ; which would in effect deliver up the Bishops to be slaughtered. This menace put no stop to the resolution : the Bishops published their excommunication, and a perpetual interdict on the city : but those censures had been played with too often and too lightly, and had now lost their effect. The Governor, H. O NEIL was much against a surrender ; but he had only power to set the guard : the Mayor kept the keys ; and had the principal command of the Officers. Colonel FENNEL, whom we have seen betraying the pass

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at Killalloe and taking shelter at Limerick, was one of the ringleaders of the treachery here : and having gotten the keys from the Mayor, in combination with some other officers, seized upon two of the gates, and drove away the guard that O NEIL had placed there. O NEIL sent for him to a Council of war, but he refused to come : and being supplied with powder by the Mayor, he turned the cannon upon the town ; declaring that he would not quit his post, till the city was surrendered to the enemy ; and as a proof of his resolution received two hundred of IRETON's men in at the gates which he had possessed. A great breach being made at the same time in the wall, the city surrendered upon the articles which had been offered to them before ; four and twenty persons being exempted from mercy. The Governor met IRETON at the gate, and shewed him the several stores of arms ammunition, and provision, which were sufficient to have lasted near three months longer. The titular Bishop of LIMERICK was the only one of the persons excepted who made his escape. The soldiers of the garrison were to lay down their arms, and to march whither they would : and the inhabitants had three months allowed them to transport their persons, and three more to remove their goods, to any place in the kingdom where they should be appointed to live. In this manner was the city of Limerick defended by the Catholic Irish : and this obedience did the Prelates and the Clergy find in their extremity, from those whom they had seduced from submitting to the King's authority, and from the duty which they owed their country. But the just severity exercised by IRETON, when he got possession of this place, is very remarkable. The Bishop by putting on a soldier's habit, and marching out with them, escaped the punishment intended for him. The Bishop of EMILY was taken : and with all the reproaches imaginable, for adhering to the Nuncio, and opposing the Government, was ignominiously hanged. DOM. FANNING, whom the reader remembers to have opposed the proclamation of the peace in forty-six, wounding the Mayor, and the Herald, and being made Mayor by the Nuncio, was also hanged. The same fate attended Friar WOLFE, who raised a mutiny to prevent their admitting the Marquis of ORMONDE ; which he persuaded the people would be pernicious to their religion. Even the Mayor, and Colonel FENNEL, who had betrayed the place to the enemy,

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and J. BARON who had prevented Waterford from receiving the Lord Lieutenant and was now taken here, were hanged. In short all those who had apposed an obedience to the Government with the most malice and obstinacy, and who fell into the hands of the enemy at the surrender of this place, were ignominiously put to death. We must now return to the treaty which was carrying on with the Duke of LORRAIN.

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When PLUNKET and BROWN arrived at Brussels, they found their busy Bishop of FERNS ; who, without the privacy of the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, was sent with some secret delegation from the Irish Prelates to that Duke and was in great favour with him. ROCHFORD the lawyer, and others, were sent by the towns yet in the hands of the Irish, in order to join with the Bishop in assuring the Duke of LORRAIN, that if the Queen, the Duke of YORK, and the Marquis of ORMONDE, should not yield freely to the pawning of the kingdom to him, they were able and ready to put all into his hands. The Bishop did not satisfy himself with this act of high treason : he wrote a letter to the Commissioners, though then at Brussels with him, " advising them to apply to the Pope for his benediction, and to make a submission to him in the name of the nation ; because the person from whom they come with authority, is for several causes excommunicated, and God would never prosper a contract grounded on the authority of " a withered accursed hand." Wherefore the agents laying aside the instructions which had been given them by the Lord Deputy, in the absence of Lord TAAFE, who was gone to Paris to consult with the Queen and the Marquis of ORMONDE, they proceeded in a treaty with the Duke of LORRAIN for supplies, in the name of the people and kingdom of Ireland. The Queen, and the Marquis of ORMONDE, had no reason to think that the Duke of LORRAIN had any real intentions to serve the King by this project ; or if he had, that it was in his power to serve him in the way that was proposed. Lord TAAFE was therefore sent back to Brussels, with positive instructions not to treat for men, which were not wanted, and whom it was impossible to transport ; but for supplies of money, which might easily be remitted, and arrive in time, if obtained without delay. His Lordship therefore refused to sign the treaty carrying on by BROWN and PLUNKET in his absence ; and which at his return was concluded

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ed with the Duke of LORRAIN. The articles of this treaty were upon the matter the same with those which had been rejected by the Marquis of CLANRICARDE ; and which absolutely put the kingdom into the hands of the Duke.

This transaction was kept very private for some time ; no account being sent of it to the Queen, or the Lord Lieutenant : and as though the agents were conscious that they had signed a treaty contrary to their instructions, it was seven weeks before they wrote of it to the Lord Deputy : and being afraid to appear before him they continued still in Flanders. When the Lord Deputy received the articles, he was astonished to find, that they had no relation to the commission which he had given them, and that they were expressed in more explicit and offensive terms, than the overtures which he had rejected. His Lordship therefore wrote immediately to the Duke of LORRAIN to disabuse him ; to complain of the breach of trust in the agents which he had employed ; to protest in the King's name against their proceedings ; to declare the treaty void and illegal ; and to entreat his Highness to quicken those aids he had intended for the relief of Ireland, upon such terms as were consistent with the Duke's and his Majesty's honour, and to which alone the Marquis could consent. But whatever were the Duke of LORRAIN's motives to this ridiculous project, which are variously conjectured, this treaty which had been so long in agitation, and which had occasioned a great bustle, was now entirely laid aside : Neither had another, into which the King himself, entered with him, by the Earl of NORWICH, any better effect : his Majesty, said the Duke, having nothing left in Ireland to treat for with him.

One of the principal motives which induced the Marquis of CLANRICARDE to take the Government upon him, which he knew would be very burdensome and vexatious, was the solemn assurances of the Clergy, and the joint promise of the cities of Limerick and Galway, that they would pay all possible obedience to his orders in every respect : how they were obeyed in the city of Limerick, which refused to admit him, or the garrison which he appointed, hath been already seen : the obedience of the town of Galway will be related in its proper place. The Clergy, as they had long desired, had now a Governor of their own religion, with whom they had been  
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very importunate to take the reins of Government into his hands : but yet all the measures which he took for the defence of the kingdom were traversed by them as much as the Marquis of ORMONDE's measures had been, as though the Clergy were not affected by the common danger. The titular Primate summoned a provincial Synod, at which several of their Bishops assisted : and in which their first decree was, that no Bishop of that province should be allowed to sit in the General Assembly, till he was absolved from the Nuncio's censures. They declared the Duke of LORRAIN to be protector of the kingdom ; and forbade all of what degree and condition soever to assert the contrary on pain of excommunication. They resolved to renew the old confederacy ; and having taken an oath of secrecy, they chose a committee to regulate the manner of proceeding in that business. This was what the Bishop of FERNES had laboured in vain to renew in the late Assembly at Loughrea ; and this was in truth what the factious Ecclesiasticks had always aimed at from the time that the Nuncio came into the kingdom. Some agents were sent to invite the other provinces into the confederacy, and to change the form of government. The Lord Deputy was considered as the greatest obstruction to these measures ; being invested with the royal authority which they intended utterly to destroy. In order therefore to disable him from supporting it, or to give them any disturbance, they drew up and signed an act of excommunication—to lie ready against a proper time—against the said Lord Deputy and his adherents ; forbidding every one, under the pain of that censure, to communicate or to serve in the army under his command, together with such as had been censured by the Nuncio, and had not received absolution. These acts were renewed in another Synod, which was called by the titular Bishop of LEIGHLIN, as senior Bishop of Leinster : and though there was no other Bishop present at it besides himself, yet this defect of ecclesiastical authority was supplied, by admitting some Officers of parties which ranged over the province to join with them.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE had made several attempts to assemble an army in the field : but was still defeated through the intrigues of the disaffected Clergy with his Officers. It will therefore be no wonder to find the enemy succeeding in every attempt they made against the Irish ; to which we are now to return. Whilst IRETON

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was settling affairs at Limerick, he sent LUDLOW with between three and four thousand men into the county of Clare, to take the castle of that name and some others which were of strength, but which were surrendered to him as soon as summoned. It was then debated in a Council of war, whether the army should march to the siege of Galway, which had been for some time straitened by COOTE and REYNOLDS: but most of the Officers complaining of the ill condition of their men through sickness and hard service, and the winter being at hand, it was determined only to send a summons to PRESTON, Governor of Galway, with offers of such conditions as were first tendered to Limerick: assuring him at the same time if he refused them, that he should have no better treatment than the garrison of that place had been obliged to submit to. But these conditions were then rejected: and IRETON having distributed his army into winter-quarters, in a few days after was seized with the plague at Limerick, where he died; and thus ended all operations in Ireland this year. The English historian must be consulted for any transactions of this time in which the King was concerned; as they had none of them, except those which are mentioned, any relation to the country of which I am writing.

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The chief command of the English army on the death of IRETON was conferred on General LUDLOW, who summoned the principal Officers to Kilkenny, in order to see what was necessary to desire of the Parliament of England; so that no time might be lost, when the season of the year would permit them to take the field. Two proclamations at the same time were published, in order to prevent the country people from supplying the Irish with arms or other necessaries; and to require them to withdraw themselves and their goods within a limited time from their quarters: and in case of refusal they were declared to be enemies, and were accordingly to be treated. All the armourers, smiths, and sadlers, were commanded to retire by the second proclamation, within twenty days after the date, with all their families, forges, and instruments, into some garrison of the Parliament; on pain of forfeiture of their goods, and tools, and six months imprisonment for the first offence, and for the second, on pain of death. The rest of the time before the spring was spent in seeing these orders observed; in preparing tents, and clothing, and other provision necessary for the army; and

and in scowring with different parties the passes and fastnesses of the Irish : And as there was a great appearance of the speedy determination of the war, and the parliament had summoned the adventurers who had advanced their money upon the lands in Ireland, the commissioners began to consider of the qualifications and heads under which the Irish should be brought ; that the innocent might be freed from their apprehensions, and the guilty punished according to the nature of their crimes. Some of the Irish having notice of this proceeding sent a letter to the Commissioners, subscribed G. FITZGERALD, on behalf of their Assembly held in the province of Leinster ; desiring in the name of that, and the rest of the provinces, a safe conduct for their deputies, in order to treat of conditions of submission to the Commonwealth of England. To this the Commissioners answered, that the establishment of the nation belonged to the Parliament of England : who would distinguish those who had always lived peaceably, or submitted to their authority, from such as had committed and countenanced the murders and massacres of the Protestants, in the first year of the rebellion : that they could not grant safe conducts, but that such as would lay down their arms and submit to the Commonwealth, should have as favourable conditions as they could justly expect.

The town of Galway being invested by COOTE, the inhabitants sent to the Lord Deputy to desire his assistance ; and then promised allobedience to the King's authority in him. His Lordship might be very well discouraged by their former carriage, and by their accepting the illegal articles made with the Duke of LORRAIN without his consent, from having any thing further to do with them. But on their first application, he sent his secretary to them with some directions ; and having summoned such of the Nobility, Prelates, and Gentry, as could safely, repair thither, he went soon after himself. They had men enow still dispersed in several parties to resist the enemy, if they were drawn together, and could be united ; and the town of Galway was so good a port, that any supplies or succours from abroad might come safely to them. Notwithstanding all this, the Assembly importuned the Marquis to give them leave to send for a safe conduct for some Commissioners to treat on conditions of submission to the Parliament of England for the nation : and in the mean time, they said they would make such

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such preparations for their defence, as that if they could not get good conditions, they would sell themselves at so dear a rate as should make their conquest of little use to the enemy. To oblige them in this request, though against his judgment, the Lord Deputy condescended to write to this purpose to General LUDLOW; and received much the same answer that had been given before. For a little time this put a stop to the treaty; and consultations were held about raising the blockade. But in a few days, the Marquis having left the town to get some forces together, and the Assembly breaking up, the town of Galway, by persuasion of some of the Nuncio's party, without consulting with the Marquis who was within half a day's ride, and without putting the enemy to the trouble of a siege, entered into treaty with SR. C. COOTE, and surrendered the last town they had.

The Irish being reduced to so very low a condition, through the wickedness of their Clergy, and the blind submission paid them by the people, many of the soldiers applied for leave to be transported into foreign service, and the Commissioners assisted them with shipping to that purpose. Colonel FITZPATRICK submitted with his whole regiment, on condition of being sent into the Spanish service, which was complied with; and though the Prelates excommunicated him, and his men, hoping to get better terms if the whole nation should submit together, yet his example was soon followed by Colonel ODWYER and his brigade on these conditions: that their arms and horses should be delivered up at a certain price; that he and his party should enjoy their personal estates, and such a proportion of their real estates, as others under their qualification should be permitted to do: that the benefit of the articles should not extend to such as had murdered any of the English, or had been engaged in the rebellion the first year, or to any Romish Priests, or to those who had been of the first General Assembly, or to those who had taken away the lives of any of the English after quarter given, or to those who had deserted from them and joined the Irish: and that all others might have liberty to live in the English quarters, or to transport themselves into the service of any foreign state, in friendship with England.

The Commissioners of the Parliament having removed to Kilkenny, in order to confer with the Officers about the public service, the Earl of WESTMEATH, who commanded

manded the Irish forces in Leinster, sent to desire a safe conduct for Commissioners to be named by them to treat about the terms of their submission, which was granted; they were the same in substance as those agreed upon with Colonel ODWYER and his party: and a liberty was left for Lord MUSKERY, Major General TAAFE, and some other Commanders in the other three provinces, that were yet in arms, to come in within a limited time on the same conditions. The whole number that submitted according to these conditions was about three thousand; but many finding themselves within that exception concerning the murders of the English, or hoping to obtain better conditions, or it may be taking pleasure in their predatory way of life, continued still in arms. Of this number was Lord MUSKERY who commanded the Munster Irish; and who, when the treaty was made with those of Leinster, sent word that he would accept the same conditions: but his sincerity being suspected from some intercepted letters, a preparation was made to reduce him and his party by force. Those of Conaught and Ulster, instead of submitting as was expected, got together in a body of about five thousand, under the command of the Marquis of CLANRICARDE, and SR. PH. O NEIL; who, now all the other Generals were gone, began again to be a man of some consequence. They besieged, and took the fort of Ballyshannon, and the castle of Donnegal: but both these places were soon retaken, twelve hundred of the men surrendered and laid down their arms, and the Lord Deputy was forced to shelter himself in the isle of Carrick.

The commission for constituting CROMWELL Lieutenant of Ireland being expired, it was moved in the English Parliament to renew it; and to send General LAMBERT over to command there as his Deputy in the room of IRETON: and the motion was likely to be carried, though it was opposed as unsuitable to a Commonwealth. But CROMWELL, having another part to act at that time, stood up and declared his satisfaction with what had been said against constituting a Lieutenant of Ireland, desiring them not to continue him in that character. The Parliament being willing to believe him in earnest, the question was put, and carried in the negative, as he had requested. This being over, he moved that though they had not thought fit to continue a Lieutenant of Ireland, they would be pleased, in consideration

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on of the worthy person whom they had approved to go over with the power of Deputy, to continue that character to him : but the Parliament, having suppressed the title and office of a Lieutenant, thought it highly improper to appoint a Deputy, who was only the Lieutenant's substitute : they refused therefore to consent to that proposal, and ordered that LAMBERT should be inserted in the commission of civil affairs, and be made Commander in chief of all their forces in Ireland. But CROMWELL tried to persuade them that the army in Ireland would not be satisfied, unless their Commander in chief went over qualified as Deputy : upon which WEAVER, one of the Commissioners then in the House, assured them from his own knowledge, that all the sober people of Ireland, and the whole army there, except a few factious persons, were not only well satisfied with the present Government military and civil in that nation, but also with those who had the conduct of it ; and moved that their commission might be extended to a longer time without alteration. This speech of WEAVER's, to persuade the Parliament to continue LUDLOW in the command of the army in Ireland, increased a jealousy which CROMWELL had conceived of him that he might prove an obstruction to his design : and therefore since LAMBERT refused to go over with any character less than that of Deputy, he resolved to place Lieutenant General FLEETWOOD, who had just married IRETON's widow, at the head of affairs in Ireland. This arrangement procured two advantages to himself : the one, in having the army in that country in the hands of a person secured to his interest by his alliance ; and the other in drawing LAMBERT into an enmity with the Parliament, which would prepare him to join with CROMWELL, when he should find it convenient to put his design in execution. The commission appointing FLEETWOOD Commander in chief in Ireland, and signed by CROMWELL as Captain General of the armies of the Commonwealth, is to be seen in the first volume of THURLOE's state papers.

Whilst this affair was negotiating here, LUDLOW was very busy in reducing the Irish. The only force of an army which they had remaining was under Lord MUSKERY, who made his principal rendezvous at Ross in the county of Kerry ; a place of great strength by its situation, being encompassed on every part by water except on one side, upon which there was a bog not passable but on a causeway

a causeway which was fortified. There being little or nothing else for the army to do, LUDLOW marched to this place with four thousand foot and two thousand horse, accompanied by Lord BROGHILL, and other General Officers. When they came there he was informed, that the Irish received their supplies from the parts which lay on the other side, and were covered with woods and mountains: upon which information, he sent a party of two thousand foot to clear those woods, and to find out a convenient place on which to erect a fort if there should be occasion. Whilst these forces were thus employed, not without an opposition which ended to the loss of the Irish, the other part of the army with the General were fortifying a neck of land on which he intended to leave a party to keep in the Irish on that side; whilst he went with the horse and the rest of the foot to look after such as were abroad, and to receive their own provision and other necessaries which the Commissioners were sending them by sea. When their boats came up, each of which was capable of containing above a hundred men, LUDLOW ordered one of them to be rowed about the water, in order to find out the most convenient place for landing upon the enemy. This is his own account: but COX says, "that he caused a small ship to be made, and had it carried over the mountains and set afloat in the lough, which so astonished the Irish that they yielded up the place." The place, it is true, was soon after yielded: and the articles were in effect the same which had been granted to the Irish in Leinster, and other parts: but the agents, who were to treat upon them, being doubtful whether the article concerning the murder of the English might not, as it was worded, include them all, it was altered to their satisfaction. Instead of leaving them to enjoy such a part of their estates as should be allotted to them by the qualifications that were to be agreed on, the Irish desired that article to be changed, and that as to their estates, it might be expressed, they wholly submitted to the mercy of the Parliament of England. They insisted very earnestly on the exercise of their religion: "but we refused," says LUDLOW, "to oblige ourselves to any thing in that particular; declaring only that it was neither the principle nor the practice of the authority which we served, to impose our way of worship upon any by violent means." There is something so notoriously false, and consequently so very impudent in this assertion, that one wonders it could

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could be made use of by a man of LUDLOW's rank ; and much more that he should publish it in his memoirs. But a spirit of enthusiasm, of which no body was ever more fully possessed than this violent Republican, covers all imperfections, and sanctifies or annihilates the grossest crimes. Was not one of the chief ends of the rebellion which they engaged in, after the King had given up his prerogative, and the liberties of the people were secured, to overthrow the Church of England, and set up Presbyterianism in its room ? Did they not suppress the liturgy in England and Ireland by force, turn out the Clergy, establish their directory, and oblige every one to take the covenant in order to impose their own way of worship ? In flat contradiction to him therefore it must be said, that both the principles and the practice of the authority which he served were to impose their way of worship by violent means.

Whilst the military service in Ireland was drawing to a conclusion, most of the Irish forces having submitted and laid down their arms, no garrison of any strength holding out, and many thousand men being sent into foreign service, the Parliament were persuaded to send over five companies of foot, and an entire regiment commanded by Colonel CLARK ; not for any need there was of them there, as it is plain, but as being thoroughly principled for the designs of CROMWELL, who advised their being sent. Having at the same time at his request appointed FLEETWOOD to the chief command of their army in Ireland, they resolved to give the adventurers possession of their lands in that kingdom, in proportion to the several sums which they had advanced, and to satisfy the arrears of the army out of others. According to this resolution, they passed an act for the confiscation of so much of the estates of those who had acted against the English, as they judged the quality of their crimes deserved, and extending their clemency towards those who had demeaned themselves with courtesy. It appears from the collection of THURLOE's papers, that towards the close of this year the Popish Clergy in Ulster sent Friar Fox into Spain, to complain of their sufferings to that King, occasioned as they conceived by his Majesty's league with the English Parliament, and to offer him the allegiance of all the Irish then in arms, and all the strong holds in their power, if he would relieve them. To this the Spanish King answered, that he would give them two hundred thousand crowns a month to carry on the war, though



though his assistance must be privately managed, as it would be inconvenient to him to be known for the enemy of the Parliament: and in case they could not hold out, he would give orders for their transportation into Spain, and send letters to his Ambassadour at London to endeavour to procure the liberty of religion for those who remained in Ireland. But the Friar died at his return, before he had delivered the letters, which are said in this paper to be forth coming; and the application to Spain was without effect.

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In order to bring the few that remained yet in arms to a necessity of submitting, LUDLOW scoured the counties of Wicklow, and Wexford, with four thousand men, placing garrisons in convenient places, and fortifying some others; and from thence going to Carrick, Monaghan, and Fermanagh. In the mean time, General FLEETWOOD landed at Waterford; but that place and Dublin being much infected with the plague, he fixed his residence at Kilkenny, where LUDLOW waited on him to resign the chief command. Indeed the military service was almost entirely finished before his arrival; and there remained little more to do than to manage the civil affairs in conjunction with the other Commissioners of the Parliament. This was an undertaking much more arduous and painful than reducing the forlorn and distressed Irish by force of arms: and the first measure they entered upon, was issuing commissions for a high Court of Justice in the several provinces; in order to try those that had been accused of murdering the English in the first year of the rebellion. Of this number was Lord MUSKERY, who was charged to have put many Englishmen to death, in the way between his house and the city of Cork: hereupon his Lordship was seized, and sent to Dublin to be tried by the Lord Chief Justice LOWTHER, who presided in that court. But such multitudes of the English appearing to testify the great humanity of this Lord and his Lady, who had saved the lives of many hundreds that must otherwise have been lost by cold and famine, and it being clearly proved to the Court, that though many of the English were murdered by the convoy that were appointed to conduct them to Cork, yet that Lord MUSKERY had not only taken all the care he could for their security, but had done every thing in his power to bring the guilty persons to justice, he was very honourably acquitted, and allowed to pass into Spain.

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On the trial of L. TOOL, a noted incendiary and head of a clan in the county of Wicklow, and who was condemned and executed, REILY, the titular Primate, appeared as an evidence: but being well known to have been the chief author of surprising and burning the black castle of Wicklow during the cessation, by which means many of those who were in it lost their lives, he was accused in Court by some who knew him, seized, and brought to his trial: he pleaded, in extenuation of his punishment for this crime, his merit towards the English in betraying the camp at Rathmines, already mentioned; and the importance of that service being well known, he was suffered to go away unpunished. The name and the crimes of Sir PHELM O NEIL are too often mentioned in this history for the reader to want a remembrance from me of either. It hath been already mentioned that the Commissioners had issued a proclamation, requiring all the inhabitants to withdraw themselves from the Irish quarters, in order to force them to a submission for want of provisions: but this not proving thoroughly effectual, they published another proclamation at this time; setting a price upon the heads of the principal and the most guilty, that they might be brought to their trial and punished as they deserved. An hundred pound reward to bring Sir P. O NEIL, dead or alive, was encouragement enough then for the Irish to look after him: and one of these giving intelligence to Lord CAUFIELD, whose father the reader remembers was inhumanly butchered by him in his fort at Charlemont, that Sir PHELM was in an island in the North, his Lordship had too good a reason to take a party of horse and foot, and by entering the island in boats, to seize and drag him away to the justice which had so long awaited him. It appears by the affidavit of Dean KER in NALSON's collections—not a word of which Mr. LUDLOW mentions—that upon his trial at Dublin, at which the Dean was present, Sir P. O NEIL was accused by several then in court of having shewed them a commission from the late King for raising the rebellion in forty one: upon which he confessed, that when he surprised Lord CAUFIELD in the fort of Charlemont, he found a patent to which the broad seal was annexed; and cutting off the patent, he ordered one HARRISON to fix the seal to a commission which he had directed to be drawn up: and that HARRISON, being then in court and called upon, confessed that he stitched the silk cord and label of that

that seal to the said commission. On the second day of his trial, some of his Judges told him that if he could bring any material proof that he had such a commission from the late King, he should declare and prove it, before sentence passed against him, and he should be restored to his estate and liberty. To this great offer he made reply, that he could prove no such thing; and they gave him till the next day to consider of it: nevertheless being brought into Court, and tempted again with the like offer, he again declared that he could not prove any such thing as a commission from the King: he added, “ that the outrages committed by his aiders and abettors, contrary to his intention, now pressed his conscience very much; and that he could not in conscience add to them the unjust calumniating the King, though he had been frequently solicited to it by fair promises and great rewards while he was in prison;” and proceeding to say something more, he was immediately stopped, and sentence of death was pronounced upon him. The man, it is well known, was profligate to the last degree; and the offer of his life and estate were powerful temptations to men less abandoned: but what wretches were those that caused these temptations to be laid in the way of such a man, in hopes that he might accuse the King, and so make their guilt in putting him to death the less inexcusable! But hoping still that they should prevail with Sir P. O NEIL, when the terrors of death were nearer, the Dean deposeth further, that he was present and very near Sir PHELM when he was upon the ladder at his execution; and that two Marshals came riding to the place in great hurry, calling aloud “ stop a little,” and having passed through the crowd, one of them whispered him some time, and Sir PHELM O NEIL answered him, in the hearing of the Dean and several hundreds round him, “ I thank the Lieutenant General—meaning FLEETWOOD—for this intended mercy; but I declare, good people, before God and his holy angels and all you that hear me, that I never had any commission from the King for what I have done in levying or prosecuting this war.” Though no mercy was shewn to any one that could be proved to have murdered a single Englishman, yet this man, who was one of the principal conspirators in the insurrection, and who had been the means of shedding more English blood than all the Irish put together, was not only to be pardoned, if he would add one crime more to his guilt by falsely accusing the late King, but to

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be restored to his estate and liberty.—Such was the malignant spirit of these enthusiastical Republicans, who pretend to so much piety! No other person of any quality was condemned in these Courts of Justice except Lord MAYO, in the province of Conaught: four of his eleven Judges acquitted him, but the other seven condemning him he was shot to death. Several other Courts of Justice were held at Kilkenny, Waterford and Cork: but in Ulster, where the massacre first began, and where the greatest part of the cruelties on the British Protestants was committed, scarce any body was taken up and tried: and so many of the murderers in other places had been destroyed by a ten years war, or by the plague, or had escaped amongst the many thousands that went abroad, that not above two hundred remained to undergo their fate at the gallows.

From this period to the Restoration, there are few or no lights to be gathered from any work that has been published in England, or in Ireland, except LUDLOW's memoirs, and THURLOE's state papers; and the deficiency is not greatly to be lamented. Though LUDLOW wrote chiefly upon memory, and he has observed no dates nor order, yet as he was for the greatest part of that time one of the principal actors upon the stage of Ireland, his accounts of it then, abating his anachronisms, may be in a good measure depended on; all the favourers of monarchy, which was the grand object of his aversion, being suppressed or banished. But this dependence must not extend to the time of the Protector's government; at which he was as uneasy as at the late King's. Besides these memoirs, and state papers, the books in the Council Office at Dublin, till within two years of the Restoration, from the year fifty, are in being—all the rest being destroyed by a fire:—and the extracts that I made from those books furnish the other materials that will be met with here. They are certainly of the highest authority: but the reader is not to expect, either from LUDLOW, THURLOE, or these manuscripts, any matter that is very interesting or important. The times there were become calm; and the Republicans had borne down every thing in Church and State with so high a hand, that there is nothing left but a few dry meagre annals, or extracts from letters, for an historian to work upon. It is a misfortune for a history to conclude thus; and I thought therefore once not to have carried it on any further: but I considered that an historian is not expected to create matter;  
that

that no transactions of this space of time have yet appeared, except in the memoirs and state papers above mentioned; that the last were intermixed in seven volumes in folio which are but in few hands; and that the reader might have a curiosity—though very little was done in this period—to know what that little was; and therefore I determined to prefer utility to entertainment, and that the conclusion of the work should be insipid, rather than want the fulness which I could give it.

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In order to recruit the wasted country, and to recover the stock and growth of the land, the Parliament ordered their Commissioners to publish a declaration, that the war in Ireland was concluded; and they permitted the people of England to transport all sorts of grain, and cattle, and other necessaries for the new plantation of the desolate parts of Ireland, duty free. The arrears which were due to the English army in Ireland, were satisfied by the Parliament out of the forfeited estates, according to the same rates that were allowed to the first adventurers: but in this transaction there appeared a very unjust partiality, by confining it to those who had been in arms from the time that CROMWELL landed: and though the hardships endured by those who had been in arms before were much greater, yet nothing could be obtained for them, but such a proportion of lands in the county of Wicklow; as was not sufficient to discharge the fourth part of what was due to them. Those who solicited the affairs of the Irish army with the Parliament, having persuaded the adventurers that there were forfeited lands enow in one moiety of nine principal counties, they accepted of them for their satisfaction; and the other moiety was by the act assigned for the soldiers in forty nine, and after, to that time. The province of Conaught was reserved for the Irish, under the qualifications agreed upon by the Parliament: according to which they were to be put into possession of the several proportions of land which had been promised them in the said province; that so the adventurers, soldiers, and others, to whom the Parliament should assign their lands, might plant without disturbance or danger of being corrupted, by intermixing with the natives in marriage or otherwise: for to this, by the experience of former times, the English were found to be rather more prone, than to have improved the Irish in religion or good manners: neither could the natives, being divided by the Shan-

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non from the other provinces, and having garrisons placed round them in the most proper stations, have those opportunities of disturbing or prejudicing the English which they formerly had. Some of the lands that had belonged to the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, were applied to augment the revenue of the College of Dublin: and the remaining part of those lands together with the counties of Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Carlow were reserved to be disposed of to favourites, or otherwise, as the Parliament should think fit. The forfeited lands were divided between the adventurers and soldiers by lot, according to an estimate taken of the number of acres in the respective counties: and Sub-commissioners were appointed to judge of the qualifications of the several Irish, and to set out so much land in the province of Conaught as belonged to every one according to the act. A committee was established to sit at Dublin, to receive and adjudge all claims of the English and others to any lands, which were made appear to be legal claims, within a limited time; so that the adventurers, soldiers, and others, might be at a certainty; and after such a time free from any molestation in the possession of their lands; which limitation was afterwards extended to a further date.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE, seeing the ruin and confusion into which his countrymen had brought themselves, about the time of the siege of Galway sent Lord CASTLEHAVEN to the King, to give him a faithful representation of the state of Ireland, and to desire his Majesty's direction what to do. The King being in no situation to afford the least assistance of any kind, ordered his Lordship to write to the Marquis to take care of his own security, and not to fall into the hands of the enemy. Having endeavoured therefore in vain to draw the scattered forces together, seeing those on whose fidelity he most depended falling every day from him, and being reduced to those straits that he durst not remain twenty four hours together in a place for fear of being betrayed, he was compelled to send to FLEETWOOD for a pass, and for liberty to remain in their quarters for three months, without having any oath imposed upon him, and to transport himself beyond the seas. His request was readily complied with: and had he asked for a portion of his great estate and promised to give them no trouble, they would probably have consented to it: but he

he asked for nothing more than hath been mentioned ; and when he had settled his affairs he retired to his estate at Somerhill in Kent, where in the year fifty seven he was released by death from all his troubles.

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The summer having been spent in adjusting the several claims and setting out the several lands over the kingdom, on the twenty sixth of September, the Parliament of England published an act for the confirmation of them ; in which it was declared, " that the rebels in Ireland were subdued, and the rebellion appeased and ended." But now a new scene began to open : the Parliament disbanded about five thousand men in Ireland ; and they were very inclinable to disband all the army in England. CROMWELL, knowing this would sap the foundation of his credit, and being much out of humour to find his services in a way of being requited with such ingratitude, determined to risk every thing to make himself master of the Parliament ; who properly speaking owed all their power to him. The way to do this, he knew from experience, was by withdrawing the confidence of the army from them ; and then the undertaking to accomplish their ruin would not be difficult. To this purpose he contrived two petitions to the Parliament, one after another, from a General Council of officers who were all at his devotion ; the one to demand their arrears, and the other that the Parliament should be dissolved. The Parliament were inflamed with these petitions ; and forbade any more such to be presented on pain of high treason. This was what CROMWELL expected, and was what he wanted : he knew they were odious to the people, and disagreeable to the army ; and he thought he had no longer any measures to keep with men that were intent upon his ruin. Wherefore taking a file of musketeers with him into the House, and in a furious tone bidding the Speaker leave the chair, he told them they had sate long enough, and it was not fit they should sit any longer ; upon which they all tamely went away : and giving the fools bauble—which he called the mace—to one of his Officers, he locked the door. The Parliament being thus dissolved by CROMWELL's sole authority, he appointed a Council of State to govern the kingdom ; and at the close of the year he had managed his affairs so well, that he was declared Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, with a Council of twenty one.

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could be made use of by a man of LUDLOW's rank; and much more that he should publish it in his memoirs. But a spirit of enthusiasm, of which no body was ever more fully possessed than this violent Republican, covers all imperfections, and sanctifies or annihilates the grossest crimes. Was not one of the chief ends of the rebellion which they engaged in, after the King had given up his prerogative, and the liberties of the people were secured, to overthrow the Church of England, and set up Presbyterianism in its room? Did they not suppress the liturgy in England and Ireland by force, turn out the Clergy, establish their directory, and oblige every one to take the covenant in order to impose their own way of worship? In flat contradiction to him therefore it must be said, that both the principles and the practice of the authority which he served were to impose their way of worship by violent means.

Whilst the military service in Ireland was drawing to a conclusion, most of the Irish forces having submitted and laid down their arms, no garrison of any strength holding out, and many thousand men being sent into foreign service, the Parliament were persuaded to send over five companies of foot, and an entire regiment commanded by Colonel CLARK; not for any need there was of them there, as it is plain, but as being thorowly principled for the designs of CROMWELL, who advised their being sent. Having at the same time at his request appointed FLEETWOOD to the chief command of their army in Ireland, they resolved to give the adventurers possession of their lands in that kingdom, in proportion to the several sums which they had advanced, and to satisfy the arrears of the army out of others. According to this resolution, they passed an act for the confiscation of so much of the estates of those who had acted against the English, as they judged the quality of their crimes deserved, and extending their clemency towards those who had demeaned themselves with courtesy. It appears from the collection of THURLOE's papers, that towards the close of this year the Popish Clergy in Ulster sent Friar Fox into Spain, to complain of their sufferings to that King, occasioned as they conceived by his Majesty's league with the English Parliament, and to offer him the allegiance of all the Irish then in arms, and all the strong holds in their power, if he would relieve them. To this the Spanish King answered, that he would give them two hundred thousand crowns a month to carry on the war, though



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The authority of the Protector having been established in England by the means of the army, he sent his second son Colonel HEN. CROMWELL into Ireland to feel the pulse of the Officers there, and, by an acquaintance which he was to cultivate, to prepare himself for his future command over that kingdom. It was indeed become necessary that something further should be done, than had been done, towards settling the Government of that country : for it appears by a letter of his to THURLOE, that the " Commissioners had done little more than to make orders for distributing the public lands, of which they had given large proportions to themselves." Even FLEETWOOD himself " was too deeply engaged in a partial affection to the persons of the Anabaptists to answer the Protector's purpose." In one particular only of the revenue, the State had been cheated of above one half for five years past, by the Commissioners that were entrusted for letting the lands. The courts of judicature, for want of judges and able lawyers, were in so miserable a condition, that the administration of justice was delayed and the people were much oppressed : neither would the poverty of the State, as it had been managed, enable them to allow a competent encouragement to men of worth and ability to go over thither. So general had been the detestation of the Irish occasioned by the late rebellion, that scarce a house out of the walled towns had been left undemolished, fit for an Englishman to live in ; nor was any timber, except in some particular places, left undestroyed. Such was the situation of affairs then in Ireland, when the change of Government took place.

" The instrument of Government"—as it was called—which was settled when CROMWELL assumed the title of Protector, required a Parliament to be summoned in September for the three nations, united now in one Commonwealth : and the same instrument requiring thirty members to be chosen for Ireland, letters were sent from CROMWELL and his Council in the spring to the Commissioners there, to inform them of this clause, and to desire their advice touching the ensuing election. In consequence of this order, the Commissioners sent a letter to the Protector in May—to be seen in the council books—to inform him " that the condition of Ireland is so waste, and desolate, and uninhabited, and the parts that are inhabited so unsettled, that they could not present unto him as he desires, any way or course at that time for election of persons

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in that nation to serve in the ensuing Parliament." But this answer being inadmissible, and the election being required in the best way they could procure it, the Protector wrote a letter to FLEETWOOD, to desire that he with the other Commissioners would consider, "to what places and in what manner the thirty members might be distributed with most equality, and with respect to the present affairs: whether they conceived any place or parts in Ireland to be capable of electing members themselves, and if so, under what qualifications: or whether the present condition of affairs be not such, as that particular persons should be called by writ for the next Parliament." On the receipt of this letter, some of the commissioners proposed, that for this time the Protector and his Council should nominate the thirty members that were to be chosen: but LUDLOW desired they might retain at least the form of liberty, since by the influence of those in power the same persons would probably be chosen that they desired: and accordingly FLEETWOOD used the power of Government in his hands—as all Ministers have ever done—to get a majority elected on the side of the Court. In the same books there is another letter from the commissioners in August, to the "Clerk of the commonwealth in Chancery," to inform him that they have sent the writs and indentures made between the Sheriffs and electors of such Members as were chosen to serve in Parliament.

The Commissioners, especially LUDLOW, proving not so tractable under CROMWELL as it was desired they should be, an order was sent over in the name of his Highness and his Council to annul all the power and authority given to the Commissioners of the Parliament, and to appoint FLEETWOOD Deputy, and others to be his Council, for the government of Ireland, to continue for three years. With this appointment there came instructions to them, "to improve the interest of the commonwealth of England in the dominion of Ireland, for the advancement of religion in that country, and suppressing idolatry, popery, superstition, and prophaneſs: to give encouragement, and provide competent maintenance to all such persons as are of pious life, and as they shall find qualified with gifts for preaching the gospel, by way of stipend out of the public revenue: to execute all laws in force against Papists, and Popish recusants: to consider of all due ways for the advancement of learning, and training up youth in piety

ty and literature, and settling a maintenance for proper persons to be employed in it, as far as the present affairs of Ireland will admit : to execute all the acts and ordinances of Parliament now in force in this Commonwealth against delinquent, malignant pluralists, and scandalous ministers in Ireland : to take care that justice be administered according to the laws and constitutions of England : to see that no Popish or other malignant persons be employed in the administration of the laws, or execution of justice, nor practise as counsellors, attornies, solicitors, or schoolmasters : to put in execution all the acts of Parliament now in force in this Commonwealth for sequestring all forfeited estates of Popish malignant, Archbishops, Deans, and Chapters : to set all these lands and benefices, for any time not exceeding seven years, on such terms as they shall judge proper : to settle the customs and excise : to manage the treasury for the best advantage of the State : to take care of the public stores : to sit and vote at Councils of war for the equal distribution and regulation of quarters for the standing forces ; to lessen by all proper methods the public charge of the Commonwealth : to transmit an estimate of the revenue to his Highness and Council forthwith, and once after every year, with a representation of what will conduce to the improvement of it : to use the best means for the recovery of any part that hath been concealed and for an improvement of the whole : to cause an exact survey of the Crown and Church lands, and of the forests and other forfeited lands undisposed of : to dispense with the orders of the late Parliament and Council of State for the transportation of the Irish into Conaught, if it should be for the public service : all temporal offices to be disposed of by the Deputy, except those reserved to his Highness's disposal ; such as the Presidents of provinces, Chancellor, Treasurer, Vice-treasurer, Master of the ordnance, Judges, Master of the rolls, Serjeants at law, Attorney and Solicitor General, Treasurer at war, Marshall, and Clerk of the cheque : in case of death or absence of the Deputy, five of the Council to act with all the power of the Deputy and Council ; and each of them to have a salary of a thousand pounds a year.

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The discontents in England beginning to discover themselves openly, several commissions were sent thither by the King to raise horse and foot : but CROMWELL, who never

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never wanted intelligence, caused divers persons to be seized and imprisoned that were concerned in the undertaking. Suspecting however that they might have some further grounds for it than he had discovered, he sent orders to Ireland for two thousand foot and three hundred horse to be sent over from thence to his assistance: but when this party were drawn to the water-side in order to be embarked, some of the private soldiers, either from a scruple of conscience, or an unwillingness to leave their families and plantations in Ireland, refused to go, though the Deputy and several field Officers were present; alledging that they had listed themselves to fight against the rebels there, and in consequence of that obligation were ready to obey all commands that should be given: but they knew not against whom they should be ordered to fight in England, possibly against some of their best friends, and therefore desired to be excused from that service. The Deputy, and the Officers, being determined to compel them, called a Court-martial instantly upon the place; where they ordered the ring-leader to be shot, and an entire company to be cashiered: and these orders being executed the rest embarked. About this time there is a letter from the Deputy and Council in Ireland to the Protector, to inform him that the charge of the forces there by the establishment of the late Parliament, is forty-seven thousand pounds a month, besides the civil charge which is very considerable: towards the defraying of which there is little to be reckoned upon there except the assessments of ten thousand pounds a month levied over the kingdom; the customs and excise being almost wholly taken away by the late ordinances of Parliament for encouraging the plantations: and therefore they pray him earnestly to send them the constant supply of two and thirty thousand pounds a month which had been allowed for Ireland.

The Parliament having met according to the writs required in the "Instrument of Government," CROMWELL opened the Sessions in a Speech; which it is not the business of this history to relate. Though he hoped the Parliament would confirm his dignity of Protector, having taken care that none of those persons, nor their sons, who had borne arms for the King should be returned, yet the first thing proposed by the Parliament was to examine the power which had convened them. A stroke so unexpected gave him great uneasiness: and as he had  
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his friends as well as his enemies in the House, he found means to waste the time till he saw a proper opportunity of securing himself against his opposers: he sent then for all the Members into the "Painted Chamber," and told them that they had assumed too much liberty in calling an established Government into question, from which themselves had derived their authority, since if they were not lawfully convened, they had no power to debate. At their return to the House they found a guard placed at the door, refusing entrance to those who would not sign an engagement to be true and faithful to the Protector, and not to propose or consent to alter the Government. Though many were thus excluded, yet others signed the engagement, that they might have an opportunity to destroy him. A plot had been chiefly laid by the Cavaliers, but with the privity of several Members of Parliament, to raise an army in several parts of the kingdom; and CROMWELL having intelligence of this prevented the execution of it by dissolving the Parliament. About the same time an order was received in Ireland from CROMWELL, that as General LUDLOW had declared himself dissatisfied with the present government, the Deputy should take care that the General's charge in the army might be managed some other way. Upon this FLEETWOOD sent to him to deliver up his commission, or to engage under his hand not to act by virtue of it, till he should receive a commission to do so either from the Protector, or the Deputy. He refused to do both for some time: but at last he signed a parole in writing, that he would tender himself to the Protector at Whitehall by the tenth of March following, wind and weather permitting; and in the mean time would act nothing directly to the disturbance of the peace, or the prejudice of the present Government: many altercations as well in England as in Ireland ensued upon it; but of too little consequence to the Publick to deserve a place in a general history.

That the inclinations of the army in Ireland might be better known, and the refractory ones in it kept more under than they had been through the too great easiness of FLEETWOOD, the Protector sent over Colonel HEN. CROMWELL a second time, in hopes that he might be able to fix the soldiery in his interest. The end of his going over was not at first discovered; and was conjectured

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jectured to be nothing else than to command the army as Major General under the Deputy. He was received however at Dublin with all the pomp and solemnity of a Chief Governor. There was an order of Council at this time, that no person should presume to come from Scotland into Ulster without a licence from General MONCK; and that whoever did come without such licence was to be apprehended by the commander in chief, as an enemy to the Commonwealth, and kept in custody till they gave satisfaction of their good behaviour. In the same month, another order issued from the Deputy and his Council, to the commander in chief of the counties of Meath, and Lowth, and to all officers of the army and Justices of the peace, to take care of the speedy suppression of Popish Schoolmasters, who teach the Irish youth in those counties, training them in superstition, idolatry, and the evil customs of this nation, and to make a return to the Council-board in case of obstruction. Another order was given in the same month, that no houses or lands should be let to any Irish or Papists in or near garrisons, or great towns, or castles of any strength, but in such places as are consistent with the publick safety: and that the Commissioners of the revenue should let to the best advantage of the Commonwealth, all the real estates of such Irish and Papists, as have not manifested their constant good affection before the Court for the adjudication of titles and qualifications.

The business of transplantation was now begun by the Council, who thought they had a power to transplant all that expected any benefit from the qualifications by the act of settlement: but imagining what they did could not be revoked without the exercise of the legislative power, they proceeded in the transplantation very gradually: Nor did this work meet with that encouragement from England which they thought it deserved, but was rather discountenanced and obstructed there; and this had encouraged the Irish to hope for a dispensation, and not to transplant so readily as otherwise they would have done. About the middle of April, a proclamation was published by the Deputy and Council, taking notice of the evil practice in that nation of keeping the days commonly called Easter Holidays: whereby not only idolatry and superstition derived from the church of Rome is maintained, but the notorious sins of drunkenness, swearing, and many other abominations are committed; and ordering that all shops in the city of Dublin should be kept open on Easter Mondays

days and Tuesdays as at other times, and that the people should follow their lawful callings. In a few days after, a letter was received from the Protector and his Council, directing that General LUDLOW should not be permitted to leave Ireland till further orders : and by the same post a letter came from the Protector only, setting forth to the Deputy and his Council, that the despoiled Protestants in Ireland had petitioned him, that they might have the like favour for remission of rents payable to him for lands and tithes, formerly held of the late King and of ecclesiastical persons and societies, as are granted to Soldiers and Adventurers for the encouragement of replanting Ireland ; and that the same reason holds in case of those Protestants, they being unable to rebuild and replant their estates wasted by the said rebellion : but as he deemed it fitter that the concession of this request should come from the Parliament when it was assembled, to whom he would effectually recommend it, so he ordered that no payment should be made of any such rents in the mean time, and no process whatsoever issue on that account. It appears from the first letter, and the subsequent confinement of General LUDLOW, that the Protector was afraid the violent republican spirit of that General would be working against his government ; in which he was certainly in the right ; and from the last letter one may conclude, that the authority which CROMWELL had assumed was not so fully established at that time, but that it was necessary to shew a condescension to the Parliament, though he intended the majority should be at his devotion. But hereafter we shall see that this condescension was laid aside, and that a following Parliament which he had modelled suitably to his design, having offered him the title of KING, which he earnestly wished, but was afraid to accept of, having invested him with the full power of a Monarch under his former title of Protector, was soon after dissolved.

In order to reduce the charge of the military establishment in Ireland, an instruction was sent from CROMWELL to disband part of the forces, with a list of such particular horse and foot that were to be broken : in which he took care to free himself of the malecontents, and of LUDLOW's regiment particularly : however not to irritate them unnecessarily, both Officers and soldiers were allowed their full arrears out of the forfeited lands of each county, accord-

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according to the rates that had been set upon them by the General Council of Officers ; in which the goodness and convenience of the lands of every county were estimated and balanced. This account is taken from LUDLOW's memoirs, who hath not only placed it a year too early, but, as it appears from a letter of FLEETWOOD's in THURLOE's collection, hath falsified the fact ; no such list having been sent from England, and the Deputy and Council reducing the forces according to their own inclinations, having a regard to the public safety. But H. CROMWELL says in another letter, " that the reduction hath been carried so impartially, as that none can say they are injured ; and the satisfaction held forth to those who disband is so advantageous, that it hath made more men greedy of sitting down on the terms offered than to continue in their employments." The Lieutenant Colonel of LUDLOW's regiment was accused at the head-quarters, of having said, when he received his arrears with the rest of the regiment, that this distribution would prove invalid without an act of Parliament ; and this was aggravated into a crime, as if he intended to excite the soldiers to mutiny and sedition : upon which he was sent for and committed to custody, till he gave assurance of his quiet and peaceable behaviour. It must be observed that General CROMWELL gives a different account from this of LUDLOW's, in a letter to the Protector which is in THURLOE's collection. He told his father " that the Officer's of LUDLOW's regiment had put it to the question, whether the present Government were according to the word of God and their former engagements, which was carried in the negative, and that the Council had imprisoned Lieutenant Colonel SCOTT who was the ring-leader, and hoped to let them see that Government is not to be played with, by applying punishments suitable to such distempers, when other means will not prevail."

The state of affairs in Ireland was little different from that in England, and the army there as much disaffected to the design of making OLIVER King, as those of the same profession here. FLEETWOOD had been recalled a little before, and Colonel HEN. CROMWELL acted as Lord Deputy in his room ; who desired several of the principal Officers to join in an address to his father, and to assure him that they would stand by him against all his enemies :-



mies: but the Officers being ignorant of the things for which they were to engage, and of the persons against whom they might be required to defend the Protector, desired to be excused. Though there was a general submission to the present Government, yet the military Officers were split into several factions. A great party favoured the spirit and principles of LUDLOW, were principally Anabaptists, and having been used to govern the easy temper and good nature of FLEETWOOD, were now, if not openly clamorous, yet inwardly discontented, and sent a petition to the Protector to restore their Lord Deputy. Another party, who had not so much interest in him, and had rather been kept under, if not oppressed under his Government, signed a petition that Lord H. CROMWELL—as he was called—might be made Deputy, under whose administration an equal regard was had to all parties.

About this time the Quakers began to make their first appearance in Ireland: the Deputy and Council issued an order to the Mayor of Dublin, the Governors of Corke and Kinsale, and to all Justices of the peace, “to apprehend all Quakers lately come from England into that nation, to examine their names and places of abode in England, on what occasions they were come to Ireland, by whom invited over, whether they belong to or are sent by any church or gathered people in England, what testimonials or recommendations they brought from any godly people or known church in England, and to cause them to be kept in custody till their answers were returned to the Council. The like order was sent to the Governor of Waterford, and the Justices of the peace in that neighbourhood, with this addition, that they should ship them off for Bristol, or such places as should be most convenient for their respective places of abode.” In a few days after, there was an order of Council to the Mayor of Dublin, “that all the Quakers in custody should be shipped off with the first conveniency for Chester, with a direction to the Mayor of that city to send them to their respective places of abode, and to exhort them to live orderly, and to make honest provision for themselves and families.” But to say the truth, the Quakers were a much more orderly inoffensive people in their principles of government and religion, than the wild and fiery zealots who treated them with this severity.

In a short time after, some new instructions were sent to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, in the true  
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 II. THURLOE ; requiring them to reserve for the use of the  
 State, the Crown Church and Corporation lands, and to

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distinguish them from such as were forfeited : to grant new charters to such cities and corporations as had forfeited them, and as the Deputy and Council should approve of : to reserve a penny halfpenny yearly to his Highness out of every acre assigned the Irish in Conaught : to grant letters patents to the Officers and Soldiers to corroborate the titles and manors created on their estates, and to other Protestant proprietors if they desired it : to supply the vacant church livings in Ulster with English minister's : to remove all the Scots inhabiting Ulster, and Lowth, whether delinquents or not, and to permit no other Scots to come and reside there : to erect Courts for probats of wills in every three counties, and to appoint the judges and registers of them, and to settle their fees : to erect a prerogative court at Dublin, the judges of which in difficult cases might call the other judges or masters in chancery to their assistance, and might have power to receive appeals from inferior courts : to resetttle a court of admiralty as formerly, and appoint the judges of the prerogative court the judges of it, to be maintained out of the fees in both offices : and to transport linen-cloth into England or Scotland custom free, and horses to the West-Indies at a duty of twenty shillings a head : to grant letters of denization to foreigners that came to settle in Ireland : to cause all estates that were mortgaged, to be sold to Protestants, or for the use of the State : to enquire into the free schools in every county, and to make up their salaries a hundred pounds a year out of the church lands : to make an yearly collection on a certain day in every parish in Ireland, for taking from their parents poor Irish children, of above ten years old, for binding them apprentice, and for breeding them in some honest calling in the fear of GOD : and to take up and secure the heads, and other considerable persons in Ireland, who may be judged dangerous, and likely to assist the Spaniards or others in an invasion of the Commonwealth."

It must be owned that these instructions for the administration of government, for the most part were worthy of better men and better times than these. Of the same sort was an order of the Deputy and Council to several persons, to consider and inform the board how the

the barbarous custom of coshiring \*, and promiscuous lodging of both sexes of the Irish, with other lewd and superstitious practices that were opposite to the customs of the English in that nation, might be prevented and reformed for the future : and also how the Irish might be brought to conform to the English nation in their apparel and language, to embrace the truths of the gospel, and abhor the errors of Popery. Nothing more appears in the Council-books of this year, but an order from the Protector to Lord H. CROMWELL commander in chief of the forces, to consult with the officers of his army for erecting and establishing a militia, within the respective counties of Ireland, for the necessary defence and better security of the nation : and another order, about a month after the first, for immediately erecting such militia of English Protestants, and granting commissions to the Officers. It is plain from several letters in THURLOE's collection written at this time, that there was a general quietness, if not a satisfaction under the present Government. The greatest difficulties the administration had to struggle with, were the want of English hands to plant and cultivate the country, so much wasted by a civil war, and the wretched condition of its trade, through the safe and counterfeit coin which had for several years been poured into the nation.

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Another Parliament was this year called by the Protector ; and those returned in Ireland were mostly Officers of that army well affected to him : but intelligence having been sent to England from abroad, of an intended invasion of one, or both kingdoms, by King CHARLES, in conjunction with the Spaniards, it was ordered by CROMWELL, that the Officers who were elected to Parliament should not leave their commands in Ireland. For as the authority of a Parliament appeared absolutely necessary to confirm him in his own, he was resolved to have one at his command : and having made sure of a great Majority, by excluding all who would not sign an engagement like the other, he could dispense with the few Officers returned for Ireland. In this Parliament he was not mistaken : they granted all the money he desired, they passed an act to renounce the title of the King, another to make it high treason to attempt any thing against CROMWELL's life, and then proposed to make him King. Many opi-

\* For an explanation of this custom, see the introduction of my history of Ireland, p. 97.

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nions have been formed by several writers of the wisdom and the weakness of the refusal of the Crown by the Protector: but CROMWELL certainly must be allowed to know his own situation best: and it is one of those state mysteries which people at a distance may refine upon, but which they will never be able to unravel. This project however failing, the Parliament, as I said, confirmed him in his dignity of Protector, with an addition of greater power than had been given him, in an instrument which they called "the humble petition and advice:" insinuating that they did not presume to impose a law upon his Highness, but to offer him their counsel in what they thought the best model of Government, which he might accept of, or refuse. When this instrument was presented to CROMWELL, and read, after a long pause, casting up his eyes, and using other gestures of amazement and perplexity, which were all pretended, he signed it; making a speech full of the cant and hypocrisy that became his character. In a few days after, he sent a message to the Parliament, to desire, they would adjourn till the ceremony of his inauguration was performed: and this being solemnized with all the pomp of a coronation, he went to the House, gave his assent to such bills as were ready, and adjourned the Parliament to the end of January.

After the Parliament had thus invested a single person with the supreme power, and that he had accepted it with so much pomp, the enemies of CROMWELL began to multiply very fast; and Ireland followed the example of those in England, as well among the sectaries, as in the army. The press was loaded with invectives against the Government; as in free countries it ever will be, when the people think themselves oppressed. In Ireland therefore the following order was issued; "that the printer at Dublin should not suffer his press to be made use of, without first bringing the copy to be printed to the Clerk of the council, who upon viewing it, if he found any thing tending to the prejudice of the Commonwealth or the public peace and welfare of it, should acquaint the Council with the same for their pleasures to be known therein." How this order was relished it is not difficult to conjecture: but how it was obeyed we know not; there being no historical anecdotes published of that time, except THURLOE's state papers, in which nothing is said of it, and except LUDLOW's memoirs, who was then in England. But  
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the reader sees that this order was an effectual remedy against an appeal to the people upon their grievances : and therefore however such remedies may please and be practised by prerogative Princes and their ministers, yet the people, who swallow and can digest them, must bid adieu to their liberties, and become the slaves of power.

The "petition and advice" was published, and the Protector proclaimed in his new power and dignity, and without any disorder, not only at Dublin, but in all the cities and chief towns in the kingdom. The commission appointing the Council being only for three years, which were now near expiring, the Council dissolved themselves ; and properly speaking there was no civil Government existing. H. CROMWELL had a commission as Major General of the army, and commander in chief ; and though he had acted in the civil administration of affairs, it was rather as a Privy-counsellor, to which his military commission entitled him, than from any other power. Notwithstanding such a vacancy of Government was highly prejudicial to the public affairs of that nation, and though H. CROMWELL wrote letter after letter into England for a new commission, yet to the astonishment of every body, above three months passed away before another Council was appointed : neither can any reason be conjectured for this neglect, from any of the numerous letters of that time in THURLOE's collection : He certainly knew more of OLIVER's secrets than any other person in the kingdom : and yet in one of his letters to H. CROMWELL on this head, he wrote as follows : "I profess to your Lordship I never consider that business, but I am ashamed, yea, confounded ; and do wonder with myself what reason will be rendered for it, either to GOD, or to the nation. It is but a small satisfaction to me, yet some it is, that I have with some conscience towards GOD, and honestly towards men, laboured in this affair, though with no more success than I have in other things. Your Lordship may well wonder at this manner of writing : it is all I have to say on this subject." It is certain that General CROMWELL was made so uneasy by this neglect, that he desired his father would give him leave to retire : but to this request OLIVER would not consent. He saw from many instances, that HENRY had a genius and spirit adapted to Government, and that all his own ease and quiet, as to Ireland, depended upon the abilities and the conduct of

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this son. At last therefore a new commission of Council was sent over, with H. CROMWELL at the head of it as Lord Deputy; in which post he shone with a lustre equal to that of any who had gone before him. The Protector said once with tears of joy in his eyes, "that his son HARRY was a Governor of whom he himself might learn:" and indeed there are some instances of his judgment in affairs of State surpassing his father's: but I shall mention no other than what occurs and ought to be mentioned in this place. An oath of abjuration had been sent by OLIVER and his Council, at the close of this year, to be taken all over Ireland, and as it appears, against the opinion of the Lord Deputy; who would have had it confined to the renouncing all foreign jurisdiction only, and not to be mixed with any matters of doctrine, till proper means had been used for the information of the people. But the consequence of imposing this oath was so prejudicial in stirring up the Irish to give over tillage, and to sell their cattle in order to put themselves into a shifting condition, that it was quickly laid aside. As soon as the Lord Deputy and Council were invested with their power, they set about rectifying the wretched state of their coin, which had been so pernicious to trade and merchandise, and to make a reduction in the expences of the Government: the army alone being eight months in arrear, and no money in the treasury to pay them with. But whilst they were contriving to abridge the charges of the State, the revenue was so peeled—to use Lord H. CROMWELL's expression—by so many grants of lands by the Protector or the Parliament, as satisfactions for old debts much above their value, that the supplies from England were necessarily to be enlarged.

There are but few instances in history of Governors so thoroughly wicked, as not to pursue some measures salutary to their people: and in the history of CROMWELL's administration, arbitrary as it was, and illegal as the means were by which he acquired it, there were several things achieved by him which were worthy of the greatest and best of Princes. Of this kind was the following letter, at the end of this year, to the Deputy and Council of Ireland, signed OLIVER P. and dated from Whitehall. He informs them that a proposal had just then been made to him by several persons, to purchase houses in Ireland to the amount of two thousand pounds a year, in such towns as  
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were yet undisposed of, and to assign the annual revenue of such houses in trust, for carrying on a foreign correspondence with learned men, as also for supplying such at home or abroad, whose learning, parts, studies, and abilities, have made them capable of being extraordinary useful to the Publick : provided, that for the better encouragement of this design, they might not pay above five or six years purchase for the said houses at their present value. Having considered, he says, that an institution of this kind had not been hitherto found, at the charge of any within the three nations, he judged it worthy of all encouragement ; and therefore ordered it to be forthwith complied with at six years purchase." It must be confessed to his honour, that an institution of this kind was a design in which the greatest and wisest of our Princes might lay a foundation of greater glory, than by subduing armies, and acquiring conquests in foreign countries : the one is the act of his fleets and forces, the other would be his own act entirely.

It is well known that among the ancients famed for wisdom and politeness, it was ever thought to be the duty as well as the interest of States and Princes, to give great encouragement to letters, by patronizing Learned Men and rewarding all their labours : but little of this sort hath been done, since the reign of CHARLES the First, in these united kingdoms. Our Princes from that period, —not one excepted, if my memory doth not fail me— have not appeared to understand, at least they have not practised this branch of policy : and our Ministers, who should put it into their heads where it is wanting, if they have understood it, have been so taken up with managing factions and parties to preserve their power—for the management of which the favours of the Crown hath been distributed—that the proper means have not been left for giving that encouragement to Learning, which in all free States especially, Learning ought to have. As lightly as this may be thought of, there is not a more certain symptom of the declension of any State, than its giving no attention to the interests of Literature, which are the interests of truth and policy, and permitting luxury and corruption to bear down all before them : and yet so little is the attention of people now to Learning in this country, that except among the learned professions themselves—

CHARLES II. in which it is too true, and no wonder, that few Very Great Men are to be found—even reading is become almost as much neglected, as by the people of Ireland it ever hath been.

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It was required by one of the articles of “the humble Petition and Advice,” that the Protector should summon a Parliament every year composed of two Houses. This had been inserted in the instrument by his own direction, and therefore he chose eight and fifty—WHITLOCK says sixty—among some of the ancient Peers, the Officers of the army, and other persons that were devoted to him, to fill up what he called his “Other House;” of which Lord H. CROMWELL, and four more, were for Ireland. They were summoned by writs after the manner of the House of Lords, to meet in Parliament on the twentieth day of January; which was the day to which the Protector had adjourned the Commons. The Commons being met accordingly, and the same article of the “Petition and Advice” requiring that the Members which had been legally chosen should not be excluded without the consent of their own House, a motion was made to admit all the elected Members who had been excluded. His enemies by this means having gained a superiority in that very House which had made him the offer of the Crown, the state of affairs began to change. The English historian must be consulted for the particulars: it can only be said here, that in a fortnight after their meeting—as it hath been already hinted—the Protector dissolved the Parliament in terms of great displeasure, the short detail which hath been given, was necessary to connect the history: we must now return again to Ireland.

The new Lord Deputy and Council finding the charges of the Government to exceed their revenue and the supplies from England, reduced the civil establishment from forty eight thousand to thirty five thousand a year; and would have also reduced the army as far as was consistent with the public safety, could they have obtained any money from England to pay off the arrears, without which there was no disbanding. But the distresses for want of money then in England were so great, that all the interest which the Lord Deputy had in his father, his reiterated complaints of the danger the State was in, and his innumerable supplications for assistance, were not able



able to procure them any. The truth was—as Secretary THURLOE wrote to H. CROMWELL—that they were under the same streights and necessity in England: and though the Lord Deputy had proposed to reduce the expences of the Irish army, and yet to make it as effective for the public service almost as it was before, by keeping nearly the same number of soldiers and making the reduction among the officers, yet THURLOE told him in the same letter, “ that he found it was difficult to get a consent, much less a direction for reducing it in such a manner; that he believed some of the officers were much regarded, for whose sakes the way propounded was the less liked; and if his Excellency should make the reduction, the Secretary said he judged a tenderness to some men would be of use.” In this manner was the public good sacrificed to the private interest of particular persons; and there is too much reason to fear, that as this case was not peculiar to that time, so these nations will always continue thus to be plundered for the sake of individuals: but the same sort of plunder, in all its circumstances, and to the same extent, is not perhaps to be found in any other country under the sun.

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The sudden dissolution of the Parliament by CROMWELL, without the knowledge even of his Council, having multiplied his enemies, or to speak perhaps with more propriety, having induced many of those to declare themselves against him who had hitherto concealed their dissatisfaction, several officers in the army, and amongst others the Major and Captains of his own regiment, had the hardiness to tell him to his face that they were dissatisfied with his Government. When the news of this defection arrived in Ireland, the officers in that army at Dublin made a free and unanimous offer to the Lord Deputy to address the Protector, “ in order to manifest their resolutions of adhering to him against all those whose particular animosities endeavoured to re-embroil the publick.” But the Lord Deputy desired it might be suspended, till he heard further from England. In the mean time, he took care to keep every thing as quiet and in as good order as was possible without money; there being none to be had from hence, and the charges of their army exceeding their assessments and revenue several thousand pounds a month: and yet through want of money to pay the arrears that were due, no retrenchment of this charge could then be

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made. The next care of the Lord Deputy and Council was to have the forfeited lands surveyed, and to make a distribution among the adventurers ; which was done with all the fairness and impartiality that was possible, through the candour and equity of Lord H. CROMWELL. To the equity and influence only of this Governour it was owing, that the people of Ireland were not more oppressed by the Protector's Council, than they had been already. The assessments which they paid were above a fourth part as much as all England and Wales ; which, he told OLIVER in one of his letters, was ten times more than in due proportion they ought to be, and that they paid incomparably more other charges, owing to the devastation made in the civil war, than any other of the three nations. The disorder about coins had left the country so very bare of good money, that were it not for the supplies from England in specie, all trade and planting there must have ceased ; and from a neglect of such industry, the people would have degenerated by degrees into the manners and practises of the native Irish. The address from the army to the Protector being now approved of, it was signed by all the officers and soldiers, except twelve, throughout that kingdom : addresses were also sent from the inhabitants of the several counties : all of them owing more perhaps to the good conduct of the Lord Deputy and the affection they had for him, than to any liking or love of the present Government ; though he is modest enough to impute it only to the latter. The good conduct indeed of H. CROMWELL is not to be enough commended : for though they were obliged to keep the army above eight months in arrears through want of a supply from England, and his letters to THURLOE, FLEETWOOD, and the Protector for several months, are full of complaints and supplications on that head, yet they are also as full of advices and desires that no money may be raised by ways contrary to law, or without the consent of the people in a Parliament.

There being no more Council books remaining, nor any letters in THURLOE's collection, from which extracts of public affairs in Ireland during the reign of OLIVER could be made, and LUDBOW being in England, which occasioned a silence about them in his memoirs, we must now proceed to an account of CROMWELL's death ; which made such a change in Irish affairs soon after as carried LUDLOW thither again, and furnished him with matter  
for

for more Irish history. In August this year, the Protector was seized with a tertian ague at Hampton Court, which at first had no dangerous symptom: and though he fancied "he had had great discoveries of the LORD to him in his sickness, and some assurances of his being restored," yet his distemper increasing daily he was brought to Whitehall, where the Commissioners of the great seal attended him, in order for him to sign a declaration, according to the power given him by "the humble petition and advice," of the person who was to succeed him: but whether he was unwilling to discover his intentions of leaving the succession to his son, lest in case of his recovery he should disoblige others to whom he had given expectations of it, or whether he was then so thoroughly discomposed that he could not attend to that transaction is not known. It is certain however that the Commissioners were dismissed, and nothing was done relating to the succession till the symptoms of death were strong upon him, when he nominated his eldest son RICHARD for his successor: dying upon a day which he had always thought very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest victories. It seems to me, I must own, that it was very propitious to him at that time; by leading him to a quiet death in his bed amidst his greatest glory. For so many were the storms he had raised at different times among all sorts of people against him, the royalists, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Independents, that he had for some time been agitated with the apprehensions of a violent death: and so many plots and conspiracies were formed against him by all the parties—especially by those who had been most attached to him, till they found he had deceived them—that it appears highly probable he would soon have been thrown with ignominy from that height, to which his ambition had unjustly carried him. As I see no reason to alter any opinion I had conceived of him ten years ago, I shall give the reader the same character of him, which is to be seen in the second volume of my Ecclesiastical History.

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The family of CROMWELL was originally of Glamorganshire under the name of WILLIAMS; which assumed that of CROMWELL, and transmitted it to posterity, by a marriage with a daughter to the Earl of Essex of that name, in the reign of Henry the eighth. The education of OLIVER was first at Cambridge, and then at Lincoln's Inn;

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Inn : but there was nothing in his genius at that time, which seemed to promise any figure in the further progress of his life. He rather gave into all the follies of gaiety and intemperance which young men relish ; and it was not till the age of forty that he was returned to Parliament. He had a great while, however, before that reformed his conduct, and engaged himself with the Presbyterians. Having acquired some reputation for his good behaviour and good principles in religion and government, he was chosen a Member for the town of Cambridge at the beginning of the long Parliament ; and having no talents as a speaker sat two years undistinguished. In this period he engaged in the Independent faction ; which was covered then with the name of the rigid Presbyterians : and being entirely devoted to the views of the Parliament against the King, it was no difficult matter for him to procure a command in the army at the breaking out of the civil war. In this situation it was that his genius began to shine ; and he had all the qualifications which were necessary to the profession of arms. Successful in every post and every enterprize, his reputation rose so fast, and his zeal for the cause was so ardent, that he became Major General of the army in a short time, then Lieutenant General under FAIRFAX, whom he had the address to govern, and at last to succeed in the first post of Captain General. His capacity for civil affairs was not much inferior to his military talents. He had an admirable sagacity in discerning the particular humours and natures of different men, and as great a dexterity in accommodating himself to them when he had any point to carry. He would condescend even to buffoonery with the common soldiers, when he was a General Officer, in order to win their affections : and with the religious enthusiasts, he would cant, and pray, and preach, as well as the best of them. He had certainly no other intentions all this time than to keep alive the malignant spirit against the King, and to prevent an accommodation which must have produced a reduction in the army, and in the end, the loss of that power and profit which he had thus acquired. Finding this was in great danger, he readily acquiesced in the murder of the King : for it is impossible to say who projected it. CROMWELL had most certainly a principal hand in bringing it about ; for which he is inexcusable. But when men embark in such violent measures of faction, as CROMWELL did embark in against Church and state, it is impossible for them to say, or to know

know, at what violence they will be content to stop : which should be a lesson of caution to us all, how we enter into the measures of any faction. As bad an hearted man as I am afraid CROMWELL was, he would probably have been shocked at the thought of that wickedness, when he entered into the war, which he found it necessary to commit, as his ambition and the rage of faction carried him on, till he was taken out of the world. He certainly caught some of the enthusiastic fire, which blazed about the time of the civil war : and this, meeting with a great natural warmth in his constitution, made him an able proficient in the religious frenzy so much then in fashion : but this could not be exerted so assiduously, as it was afterwards exerted all through his life, without a great deal of hypocrisy towards GOD. His profound dissimulation, after he took the reins of government into his hands, hath been justified by some writers as necessary to his safety. But what a justification is this ? What title had he to that superiority over others, and what called him to it ? His own ambition evidently, without any regard to right or truth, and through a great deal of blood. It is a strange solecism in Ethicks, to vindicate the wicked acts of an usurper, by saying that his usurpation made them necessary. Though he was a man of but little learning, yet he was a patron of learned men, and the liberal arts : and when he was necessitated to act the part of a great man, he acted it without any indecorum, notwithstanding it was a part which was wholly new to him. His private deportment, and his social character, have not been censured : he was very temperate in his diet ; and though he would sometimes drink freely, yet it was not to excess. He never had to the last any abilities as an orator ; and rather left others to pick out his meaning from his public speeches, than declared it himself. In so great a man this was thought to be affected : it might be so in one or two instances after he was Protector ; but the truth is, he had not a talent for elocution. Without departing from œconomy, he was generous to those who served him : and he knew how to find out and engage in his interests, every man that was possessed of those talents which every particular employment required. It must be owned that in his civil and domestic administration, he had as much regard to justice and clemency, as his usurpation, founded only on the sword, could possibly permit. As to his religion,

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gion, in which almost all historians agree, it is to me I must confess, the most inexplicable part of all his character: and though they rank him among the Independents, yet it is certain that for many years of his life he was a Presbyterian: and after he arrived at his dignity, he had Chaplains of both denominations, and allowed the Presbyterian to be the public profession of the nation. He was a Protestant without doubt; and had great notions of religious liberty: but I believe all his religion, after he had first entered on the war till he became Protector, was Enthusiasm, without any rational or solid principles. Ambition, and a lust of power, were his ruling passions: and those put him on imbibing those dangerous maxims, "that in extraordinary cases the moral law may be dispensed with, and that private justice must give way to public necessity." These maxims led him to have a principal share in putting the late King to death; and these drove him on to assume the sovereign power. When he was once possessed of this dignity, he was neither Presbyterian, Independent, Republican, nor Enthusiast: so says RAPIN, and I believe very truly; but he says nothing further. It is natural however to ask then, what he was, if he was none of these. To speak my mind freely, I think it was most likely that he was a Deist. In short CROMWELL seemed to have been a man entirely calculated for those times, and those times for him: amidst any other he would have made a very insignificant figure: but amidst these he made a greater figure, than any private man in England either before or since ever attained to. He had great penetration and address, invincible courage, firm resolution, and strength of mind, and a thorough command of all his passions when it was necessary: he had many good qualities amidst the greatest dissimulation; and with a wicked heart had the appearance of the most transcendent piety.

No sooner was OLIVER dead, than his eldest son RICHARD, nominated as his successor, was proclaimed Protector; and addresses of congratulation from all parts of the kingdom poured in upon him. In the memoirs of Lord BROGHILL, afterwards Earl of ORRERY, written by his Chaplain MR. MORRICE, it is said that when CROMWELL was asked who should succeed him, his reply was, that in such a drawer of a cabinet in his closet they

they would find his will : but one of his daughters knowing that he had made FLEETWOOD his heir, and where his will was deposited, got at it and burnt it. I don't recollect that this is mentioned by any other historian ; neither do I think it likely to be true. LUDLOW was one of the principal persons then on the public stage ; and such a transaction as this could not have escaped his knowledge : and as the " humble petition and advice," which gave him a power to name a successor, required the nomination to be under the great seal, it is highly improbable that CROMWELL should choose to nominate him by will. His Secretary THURLOE, who was his greatest confidant, and was never from him. wrote to Lord H. CROMWELL during OLIVER's illness, that " he had by himself declared a successor in a paper before he was installed by the Parliament, and sealed it up in the form of a letter directing it to THURLOE, but kept both the name of the person and the paper to himself. After he fell sick at Hampton Court, he sent a servant to London for it, telling him it lay upon his study table at Whitehall ; but it was not to be found there nor elsewhere, though it had been very narrowly looked for : he had had some discourse about it that day—Monday August the thirtieth—but his illness disabled him to conclude it fully." In a postscript it is added, " That about the succession is an absolute secret : I beseech your Excellency to keep it so." This letter is dated at nine o'clock at night ; and it is very observable that though in another letter the next day, THURLOE wrote to the Lord Deputy, " that his Highness is so weak for the present that he is capable of doing nothing respecting to the Publick—meaning no doubt the nominating his successor in due form—that for aught I see things are like to be at his Highness's death, as my last mentioned"—that is, without settling the succession—yet on the day after the Protector died, the Secretary writes to Lord HENRY, " that his Highness was pleased before his death to declare my Lord RICHARD successor ; he did it upon Monday." It appears from this contradiction—for THURLOE could not be mistaken—that there was some management in this business of OLIVER's appointing a successor, which was not proper to be owned : and perhaps he did not appoint any at all. Lord FALCONBERG, his son in law, says in a letter to H. CROMWELL, " that the night preceding his death—which must be Thursday night—and not before, in presence of four or five of the Council he declared Lord

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RICHARD his successor :” as both these accounts cannot be true, so whether both of them may not be false, it is impossible for us to say. Nothing is more certain than that the nomination of his successor was not under the great seal. A good reason hath been given above, for his neglecting to nominate in the proper form, till he thought himself past recovery ; and then it was too late. For it appears by LUDLOW’s memoirs ; that when THURLOE presented a declaration to the Parliament acknowledging RICHARD to be Protector, it was moved that the instrument might be produced, wherein the successor ought to be nominated, and the great seal affixed : but as they had no such thing to shew, the motion was overruled.

Whatever management there might have been, it is certain that RICHARD was proclaimed Protector, in Ireland as well as here : but the spirit of the father did not dwell in the son : he had neither the courage, the resolution, nor the address of OLIVER ; and he was likewise without his enthusiasm, his wickedness, and his ambition. Under such a head, every faction conceived hopes of acquiring the superiority : every faction tried for it in their turn, and for a short time each prevailed. RICHARD having neither spirit, genius, nor friends, neither treasure nor army to support him, in a little while, as we shall see, without any struggle withdrew, and became a private Gentleman. The contest lay then between the army, and that small party of the long Parliament called the RUMP, which had been dissolved by CROMWELL. My design however doth not permit me to enter into any of the particulars which fell out here after OLIVER’s death, any further than is necessary to connect them with those in Ireland : and there being no more Council books remaining, as I said before, to which I could have recourse, the only light that we can get of affairs there till the restoration, must be drawn from THURLOE’s letters which afford but little, from LUDLOW’s memoirs, and those of Lord BROGHILL by MORRICE. These are both written on memory without observing any dates, and the last without observing any order of time : MORRICE hath jumbled things together, as they occurred to his remembrance, from what he had heard Lord BROGHILL say at different times ; and it is not therefore to be wondered at that they should be very inaccurate.

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The day after RICHARD was proclaimed in Dublin, the Lord Deputy caused the military officers in and about that city to attend him; that he might acquaint them with the state of affairs and their duty, and that they might offer him their thoughts upon those subjects. They unanimously desired him to assure the new Protector of their chearful obedience and fidelity to him to the uttermost; and that they would shortly give a further testimony of it by their behaviour in their several stations. The Lord Deputy then commanded them to their respective charges, to preserve things the surer, and to see the proclamation published every where with the more solemnity and the acclamations of the soldiers. In a short time after, he caused an address to be sent and to be signed all through the army; and he received a new commission from RICHARD with the title of Lord Lieutenant: which he was so far from desiring that he chose rather to have quitted his command in Ireland than to live always as he had done in the fire, through the factious opposition of the Anabaptists and other sectaries, who were countenanced by FLEETWOOD and others here at home.

A Parliament was summoned by RICHARD to meet at the end of January, and the thirty Members returned for Ireland according to OLIVER's model, after much opposition from the Commonwealth party, were allowed to sit. The contests between the factions still continuing very violent, at the latter end of April, the army came to a resolution to oblige the Protector to dissolve the Parliament. RICHARD refused at first to grant this demand; but being told by DESBOROW, that if he granted it the Council of Officers would take care of him, and if he refused it, it would be dangerous to himself, and they would dissolve the Parliament without him, the Protector consented: it was dissolved by proclamation, and from this time, though he continued to bear the title, he was no more regarded than a private person. SR. C. COOTE, one of the Members returned for Ireland, went post thither immediately; in order to carry the news of this great alteration to General H. CROMWELL, and to consult on what measures to take that they might maintain their power. Lord BROGHILL also went into Munster, where he had great interest; and, if MORRICE is to be credited, with a view to get over all, or most part of the army in Ireland, to the side of the King: but that is not true. For though his Lordship when he saw the several factions that prevailed, might entertain some imperfect thoughts of such a kind, yet it was

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certainly too early then to put any such thoughts in execution : and it happens a little unluckily for MORRICE's credit in this assertion, and for the reputation of Lord BROGHILL, that there is a letter of his to THURLOE on the seventeenth of March—about two months only before the restoration—in which is the following passage: “ I hear we are much misrepresented in England as persons that intend to set up for ourselves, and to make Ireland a back door to let in CH. STUART into England, and thereby at one blow cut up by the roots the precious rights we have been so long contending for. I profess Sir I know nothing further from the thoughts of all my acquaintance and friends : for interest as well as duty will keep us from so ruinous a wickedness.” It will be seen however presently that he soon changed his note, and was one of the first men in Ireland, who helped to bring on, what he calls, this ruinous wickedness. The Lord Lieutenant sent SR. C. COOTE into his province of Conaught, to secure all things there under their government : Colonel FLOWER was sent into Ulster ; and the troops in which they most confided were ordered to advance towards Dublin. A Council of Officers was then called, in which CROMWELL made a proposition that they should all declare their resolution to stand by and defend his brother RICHARD : but they held it convenient to see what course would be taken by the army in England before they made such a declaration, and so desired he would excuse them. It must be observed that this is the account which is given of that transaction by LUDLOW : but General CROMWELL himself who was upon the spot, and who is much more to be credited, in a letter to FLEETWOOD at the time writes very differently. As soon as he received the news of his brother's deposal and acquiescence in it, “ he sent for the Officers of the army to make such addresses as they thought fit, in which he let them take their own course without his interposition.”

The principal Officers of the army in England, though they had agreed in dethroning RICHARD, and in dissolving the Parliament which he had summoned, yet were very far from being agreed about the next steps that were to be taken for the Government of the State. They thought at first of raising money without a Parliament ; but they durst not venture upon it : the people, and the city of London particularly, pressed them earnestly to restore the Members that were left of the long Parliament dissolved

solved by OLIVER ; and many of the Officers declared they would not be content with any thing less. At length this measure was agreed to, and pursued : the Members, to the number of forty-two met in Parliament, in the beginning of May, and by way of derision were called the Rump. As soon as the people in Ireland were informed that this Parliament was returned to the exercise of their authority, the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation to preserve the peace, and called the Officers together, who sent over some agents to the Council of State, with several proposals relating to the civil and the military Government of that country. The Council of State, which had been constituted by the Parliament, having taken these proposals into consideration, prepared such of them as they thought reasonable for the consideration of the Parliament : in particular those concerning the establishment of the army in the possession of those lands which had been assigned for payment of their arrears ; as also to confirm the adventurers and others in the possession of theirs, as far as might consist with the rules of justice. In a few days after the agents had been sent over with those proposals, General CROMWELL transmitted to his brother FLEETWOOD, one of the Council of State, his resignation of the Irish Government : in which he said, “ that though he could not promise so much affection to the late changes as others very honestly might, because he could not promote any thing which inferred a diminution of his late father’s honour and merit, yet he had such a tenderness for peace as to be content with the present Government ; and had therefore thought it his duty to prevent those fears and jealousies which might give occasion to interrupt the public peace, by resigning his charge to any one whom they should send to receive it.” The Parliament—as that handful of men were called very absurdly—proceeded to put the administration of affairs in Ireland into such hands as they could confide in : declaring that the Government there should be managed again by Commissioners as it had been formerly : the persons were then nominated who were to serve in that employment : and the Council of State were ordered to draw up instructions for their use and to report them to the House, together with what other business they should think necessary in Ireland. It was at the same time resolved, to require General HENRY CROMWELL to come over, in order to give an account

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of the state of affairs there, and to empower the Commissioners, or any two of them, to take care of the safety of that nation till further order. LUDLOW being made again Lieutenant General of the horse, had two regiments given him, and was appointed Commander in chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth in Ireland; with this concession upon which he insisted, that when he had put the affairs of that country into a posture of security he might have liberty to return to England.

When the order was signified to General CROMWELL to leave his command in Ireland, and to give an account of affairs there, he retired to a house in the Phenix park, belonging then to the chief Governour, and left Colonel LONG in the castle of Dublin. If he had been inclined to try his interest, in all probability, the new ruling powers would have met with great difficulties in his removal. As no person whatever had any injuries to complain of from him, and he had on the contrary obliged every body as far as lay in his power, so he was extremely beloved in Ireland both by the army, and the inhabitants: he saw however that his brother had been deposed, and he could not be sure of success; and this doubtless made him unwilling to undertake an affair of that consequence. A great deal may be said truly of the good heart and temper, of the candour and moderation of HENRY CROMWELL: but his numberless letters in THURLOE's collection will justify us in thinking, that too much cannot be said of his love of justice, his abilities, his knowledge of men and things, and of his skill in the arts of Government: but these talents made him hated by the chief Officers in England, because they made them fear him: and by their contrivance he was restrained from ever returning into England till they had gotten the power into their own hands; and then they thought it not safe that he should remain in Ireland. His power however consisted—in what the power of every Great Man may consist if he pleases—in the public love, and not in his wealth. For though he had had the Government of Ireland and the chief command of that army for four years, yet being unpractised in the selfishness of the Patriots of those times—I had almost said of ALL ENGLISH PATRIOTS—he had not money enough to bring him over. As an incontestible proof

proof of his merit and popularity, the King sent him word, when he was settled upon the throne, that though he had escaped in safety with the crowd, yet his Majesty had a particular mercy for him; and he ended his days in the peace and quiet which he had desired. All historians agree in praising him: even LUDLOW, the bitter enemy of his family, says not a word against him: and it was generally believed with great reason, that if he had filled the post of his elder brother, and had had his father's ambition, the Officers would have found him a match for them; or at least that they would not have attempted to treat him as they treated RICHARD. The Commissioners suspecting that he intended to keep the castle, and being desirous to get it into their power, employed SR. HAR. WALLER to surprise it. WALLER finding the authority of the CROMWELLS to be at an end, and that of the Parliament to be restored, undertook the enterprize: but being ready to enter, by a postern gate into the castle, he found not the least intention of any resistance; and the place was surrendered to him immediately.

Soon after LUDLOW arrived at Dublin to take upon him the command of all the forces in Ireland, advice was brought of an insurrection in England against the Parliament, headed by SR. GEO. BOOTH, and that Chester had been seized for the King. The truth is, the people were weary of the tyranny of an Independent Parliament consisting only of a handful of men, and of an army made up almost entirely of Fanatics; who, under colour of promoting piety and the Commonwealth, had nothing in view but their own advantages. The Presbyterians, as well as others, standing exposed to this tyranny, and seeing no possibility of regaining the ground they had lost, came at last to an union with the Royalists; in order to deliver the nation from the servitude under which it groaned. When the news of the insurrection in Cheshire was brought to Dublin, LUDLOW called a council of the principal Officers, to consider of the best way for preserving the peace of Ireland and preventing the like mischief there. All the Officers were ordered to their respective commands, and Lord BROGHILL was summoned to attend the Commissioners. When he came before them, they told him that the State was jealous he would practise against their Government; and therefore unless he would engage that

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no commotion should arise in the province of Munster in which he had a great interest, they desired him not to take it amiss if they confined him to the castle. He told them, if they would put the sole power of Munster into his hands, he would engage to be accountable for that province, but otherwise it was impossible. This the Commissioners would not do: and therefore they answered him, after some debate and consultation, that as he was a man of honour they would trust him, without requiring more from him than from other Officers, that is that he should do what he could to keep the province quiet.

Upon the commotion of Cheshire, the Council of State sent an order to LUDLOW to transport with all expedition a thousand foot and five hundred horse to England, which was accordingly complied with: tho' he thought the posture of affairs in Ireland made it inconvenient. His chief business now whilst he was there was to model the army entirely to the purposes of the Commonwealth; by turning out all the Officers whom he suspected, and putting others into their posts in whom he thought he could confide. But a business of greater moment soon engaged his attention. The principal Officers of the army in England, finding the Parliament intended to become their masters, thought it necessary to take measures for preventing this design. After several meetings and correspondences, it was concluded that LAMBERT, who had lately suppressed the insurrection in Cheshire, should engage his Officers in a petition to the Parliament, that FLEETWOOD might be Commander in chief of the army, LAMBERT Major General, DESBOROW Lieutenant General of the horse, MONCK Major General of the foot, and no Officer whatever dismissed from his command but by a Court martial. Copies of this petition, with letters to the Officers desiring their concurrence, were sent to the army in Ireland. As soon as LUDLOW received this intelligence, he summoned a Council of Officers, whom he endeavoured to convince of the impropriety and the hazard of this design: and they appeared to be so well convinced of it, that after a mature deliberation they unanimously declared a dislike of it, and a resolution to adhere to the Parliament as the supreme authority. This affair being adjusted, and LUDLOW hav-

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ing garbled the army to his satisfaction, he deputed Co  
 lonel JOHN JONES to command the forces in Ireland in  
 his absence; and in October came for England. JONES  
 was a Member of Parliament, had been one of the  
 late King's judges at his trial, and was then a  
 Commissioner for the civil affairs of Ireland: and there-  
 fore LUDLOW thought he would be acceptable to the  
 Officers, and stedfast in the defence of the common  
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It doth not belong to this history to enter into the  
 particulars of the quarrel between the army and the Par-  
 liament, in consequence of the petition above mentioned.  
 It must suffice to say here, that after much altercation,  
 about the middle of October, the principal Officers,  
 FLEETWOOD, LAMBERT, and DESBOROW, put an end  
 to the Parliament: but finding themselves unable to car-  
 ry on the Government, they consented to the meeting  
 of the Parliament again at the end of December, and  
 resigned their usurped authority. It was impossible that  
 these distractions here should not have their effect in  
 Ireland; several of the Officers there espousing the in-  
 terest of the army, and others the authority of the Par-  
 liament. Many of those who had signed an engagement  
 to the latter, which LUDLOW had brought over, and  
 therein expressed their sorrow from the interruption of  
 the civil authority, with a firm resolution of adhering  
 to it constantly for the future, were now brought by  
 JONES, to whom LUDLOW had confided the chief com-  
 mand, to sign another engagement directly contrary.  
 Even the Commissioners of the Parliament fell in with  
 the party that were for the army; and altered their  
 title, in the orders and commissions signed by them, to  
 that of "Commissioners of the Commonwealth." But  
 now the season of affairs began to be very critical in  
 both kingdoms. The army here, says LUDLOW, as if  
 infatuated by a superior power to procure their own de-  
 struction, continued obstinately to oppose the Parliament:  
 those who meant nothing less than the ruin of both in  
 Ireland, pretended to desire to relieve the nation from  
 the government of the sword, and so joined, like MONCK  
 in Scotland, in declaring for the Parliament: for this  
 reason they possessed themselves of the castle of Dublin,  
 took JONES and the Commissioners into custody, and  
 talked of nothing but yielding obedience to the com-  
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mands of the Parliament for the future. The pretence of their meeting together at Dublin was to petition for a general Council of Officers ; that the sense of the army in Ireland relating to public affairs might be fairly represented. But JONES, and the Commissioners, refusing to grant this request, the Officers proceeded to the violent measures just mentioned.

Whilst this great change was bringing about at Dublin, there were those that were not idle in other parts of that kingdom. Lord BROGHILL was by birth, and interest, on the side of monarchy : and though he had supported CROMWELL's usurpation, perhaps because he could not help it, yet he soon grew disgusted with the anarchy and confusion introduced into the three kingdoms, after RICHARD's abdication, by the contest between the Parliament and the army for the ruling power. As soon therefore as he saw, that all indifferent people began to be weary of the several changes and alterations that were every day taking place, and that there was a likely chance of bringing in the King, he set himself to work very assiduously to make a party in Munster for his Majesty's restoration. Having engaged all his own Officers, and many others not under his command in that province, to concur in such a design, he then communicated his measures to SR CH. COOTE in Conaught ; of whose ill affections to the present ruling powers, either in the Rump or in the army, he was pretty well assured. COOTE, as well as his father, had gone entirely into the Republican system from the beginning ; not from any principle, for they appear to have had none but interest. The loaves and the fishes were then on that side ; and monarchy was not capable of giving its votaries any reward. But now the Commonwealth was apparently on the decline : the intestine divisions of the leading men, carried to the utmost height of animosity, forboded a speedy dissolution of their power : and as nothing could atone for all his past opposition to his Majesty's interests, or give him any chance of favour under the new Government, but a very early and a very zealous prosecution of the King's service, so like a true soldier of fortune he veered about, and struck in instantly with the overture made him by Lord BROGHILL. From this time, no man in Ireland was so warm and vigilant a Royalist as SR. CH. COOTE. His zeal, after the manner of all new converts, was so eager and intense, that he had nearly spoiled  
Lord



LORD BROGHILL's measures by precipitating him into action before he was ready, and before the time agreed on. When his Lordship was assured of COOTE's confederacy, he dispatched a letter to the King, then at Brussels, by his brother LORD SHANNON, to invite his Majesty into Ireland; and in the mean time, made all the preparations he privately could for his reception in the city of Corke. When the King received this letter, he was so fully persuaded of the success which he should meet with in Ireland, that he gave orders immediately for all things to be got ready for his embarkation; but in the moment that he was taking horse to go to Calais in a disguise, in order to his rich expedition, there arrived letters from England full of assurances of MONCK's intentions to serve the King; which caused the design of going to Ireland to be laid aside.

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SR. COOTE being afraid from the reports spread every day of MONCK's intentions, and of the feeble and disjointed state of affairs in England, that if he did not make haste his services would be lost in the general turn, and he should have little merit to plead, proceeded immediately to secure the fort and town of Galway, changed the Governor and drew together a considerable body of horse and foot, consisting chiefly of English-Irish. With these he surprised Athlone, and then marched to Dublin; where he preferred an impeachment of high treason against LUDLOW, and the Commissioners of the Commonwealth. At the same time, some other Officers, whom LORD BROGHILL and COOTE had associated in the confederacy secured Youghal, Clonmell, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda. In the mean while, a Council of the principal Officers was held at Dublin; in which they made a very long and public declaration in favour of the re-admission of the Members of Parliament in England, who had been excluded by violence in forty eight. An agent was then dispatched to MONCK, to assure him of their joining with him for the settlement of the nations by a free Parliament; and a convention of the states in Ireland was summoned to meet at Dublin. Soon after the meeting of the convention of which SR. JAMES BARRY, afterwards Baron of SANTRY, was chairman, they also published a declaration for the re-admission of the excluded Members in England, and for a free Parliament: And in order to secure the army to their design of restoring the King, which they did not

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yet avow, they made a provision for the Payment of their arrears and for their future maintenance.

Just at this time arrived LUDLOW in the bay of Dublin, in order to attend his charge of the forces in Ireland under the Parliament: but as soon as the Council of Officers had received intelligence of his arrival, they sent a party of horse to his house, just off the bay, in order to seize him: and not finding him there, they lay privately by the sea-side, in hopes to surprise him upon his landing. But this project failing, by his remaining still on board the ship through a distrust of his safety, they sent an Officer to desire him, for avoiding inconveniences, to retire to England. This LUDLOW refused; being determined to prosecute, as far as he was able, the ends of his commission from the Parliament: the Captain then proposed that the General should go to Dublin, in order to satisfy the scruples of the Council of Officers: but LUDLOW was too old a soldier to be caught in that snare. He went to Duncannon, the Governor of which was put in there by him, and was his friend; where he remained for some time, issuing out letters and orders to the Officers of the several garrisons, requiring them to adhere to the service of the Parliament from whom he had received his commission; and informing them that the Council of Officers at Dublin, though they covered their design at present with pretences for the Parliament, yet it was evidently to destroy both them and their friends, and to bring in the son of the late King. In the mean time, the Council of Officers ordered the fort of Duncannon to be blocked up, and sent him a letter to justify their proceedings; in which they accuse him with much malicious falsehood; and afterwards they printed and dispersed it. The Parliament however were by this time so much awed and influenced by MONCK, that they sent letters to recall LUDLOW, as well as their Commissioners; and to attend them with an account of the affairs of Ireland.

The Council of Officers at Dublin, who had all along acted in concert with MONCK, being backed by the convention, thought their affairs in that kingdom were ripe enough now to begin to throw off the mask. They published therefore another declaration, in which they reproached the Parliament with the favours they had extended to men accused of high treason—meaning their admission of LUDLOW, and one of the Commissioners, into the

the House at their return—and the discouragements they had laid upon those who had been sent to England to prosecute the impeachment. In short they told them plainly, they could no longer own them for an authority; and desired therefore that a free Parliament might be called, to put an end to those confusions, in which their ambition and unskilfulness had involved the nations. But when this declaration came to be signed, SR. HARD. WALLER, who had been one of the late King's judges on his trial, justly dreading the consequence to himself and his party of calling a free Parliament, moved that the Council of Officers might be adjourned into the castle; where he hoped to secure the leaders of this motion: but not being able to carry that point, he communicated his design to as many as he thought fit, and making an excuse to go out of the room, he hastened away and got into the castle: two or three others followed and joined themselves to him; and amongst them it was resolved, to send out a party to seize SR. CH. COOTE and his adherents. But suspecting their intentions, he had provided some of his own men, either to defend himself, or secure the others; and being accompanied by Colonel THEOPH. JONES, he mounted on horseback at the head of them, rode up and down the streets of Dublin, and declared for a free Parliament; which language was by that time sufficiently understood to be for the King. A great multitude of the people followed them holding the same language; upon which they surrounded the castle: and having posted guards upon all the avenues, they sent a summons to SR. H. WALLER to deliver the place into their hands, WALLER, refusing to surrender, clothed all the soldiers out of the stores, and distributed money amongst them in order to secure their fidelity; promising them still more if they would stand by him: but the soldiers had seen their Officers change sides so often for their interest, that it is no wonder that COOTE should in two or three days, with more money, and with larger promises, prevail with them to deliver their Governor and castle into his hands.

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The reader will observe therefore, that the army and people in Ireland were among the first of those that broke the ice for the King's restoration. WALLER was sent a prisoner into England: and as he was possessed of two regiments—for these Republican Patriots, as other Pa-  
triot

CHARLES triots have done since, took care of themselves—COOTE  
 II. was under some difficulty to find proper Colonels : having  
 A. 1660. just before taken two to him self, and given one to each of  
 his brothers, and another to a relation. This unequal distribution was so resented by some of his own party, that it was moved by one of the Officers at a Council of war, that a more equal hand might be observed in the disposal of commissions : but COOTE thought this too impertinent a motion to be permitted ; and therefore after severely reprimanding the Officer discharged him from his command. To shew their attachment to MONCK, and the cause which they knew he intended to serve, the Council of Officers at Dublin sent him a present of a pair of spurs and a sword-hilt of massy gold, together with a rich hatband and an embroidered belt : and after this, there were no more thoughts of a Commonwealth, but every one was preparing to swim with the stream. There was a small, and short debate indeed in the convention, whether they ought not to article with the King for the confirmation of the estates of the adventurers, and the soldiers : but some of the members suggesting, that it would be dishonourable to make conditions for the restoration of their Sovereign, it was soon determined to accept of his declaration from Breda, as the fittest expedient to cement the divided interests of the kingdom.

The way being thus prepared for a perfect submission to their former Government, the same methods which restored the King to his throne, and which established monarchy again in England, established his authority, and put an end to the Commonwealth in Ireland. What those methods were, the reader already knows ; or at least he will not expect to find them here. I have now conducted him to the period which I first intended in this work : I have led him through numerous and various scenes, of as much cruelty, contention, misrule, and confusion, as ever filled the pages of any history in the world : and I have brought him to a state of law, and order, and regularity ; when the ancient constitution of these kingdoms was restored and the reign of enthusiasm and anarchy was at an end. Though the reader, as well as the historian, must be very well pleased to part with these unhappy times, yet if Mankind will suffer themselves to be made better by the  
 experience

experience of former ages—and if experience doth not teach them, one cannot tell what will—there is a lesson of the first importance to society to be learned from the dreadful story that we have gone through : for the mischiefs of civil strife, are more diffusive than the consequences of any other wickedness : it breaks through every tie of nature, reason, and religion : it unpeoples countries, lays waste the earth, and divests mankind of justice, compassion, and humanity. In order therefore to avoid those fatal rocks, on which our ancestors in both kingdoms were most unhappily lost, let their experience instruct us to beware of the beginnings of civil discord ; which though at first they may seem small, yet by time and chance, which happen to things as well as men, become mighty in their progress, and fatal in their conclusion. For it is with communities in this respect as it is with individuals : when once they break the bounds of law and order, there is no knowing at what a popular tumult will stop. The wickedness of the Irish rebels would never have been so various, so extensive in its measure, or so enormous in its height,—and the same may be said of that in England—could they have accurately foreseen the progress of their crimes, or have suspected themselves to be capable of those actions in the beginning, which, by an unseen chain of evil causes, and a gradual train of very unexpected effects, they were led in the end unavoidably to perform. So many unlooked for incidents arose, so many miseries unprovided for surprised, and such scenes of horror overwhelmed them, that even cruelty began to feel remorse, and revenge to wish itself unsatisfied. But this unprofitable repentance came too late ; when they could neither recall the past, nor prevent the calamities that were to come. This is a reflection which may do no great honour to human nature ; but it may help to improve the human mind : and if we read history with the view that it should be read by every one, the improvement of the mind will answer the great end for which all history should be written. The character of the Monarch, whose restoration gave peace to Ireland, shall conclude this work.

CHARLES the Second is one of the kings, of whom almost all historians have spoken with great prejudices, on the one side, or the other. A man who hath considered his reign attentively, and will speak of it impartially, must speak of it I think differently from all that I have seen.

There

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There are some strokes indeed in his character which are common to all who write of him. His friends and his enemies have allowed, that he had very fine natural parts, a great quickness of conception, pleasantness of wit, a right judgment of affairs, and great variety of knowledge: but with all these abilities, and with all the social qualities that a Prince could have to render himself beloved, without any pride, or stateliness, or conceit, he had such a carelessness and indolence of temper, as disfigured his administration of Government all his life. The high principles which he maintained, if we consider all the circumstances of his family, education, and exile, are not only to be forgiven, but excused, in CHARLES the Second. But his pretended zeal for the Protestant religion and the Church of England, when he was externally of the Roman communion, and internally of no religion at all, or at best a Deist, was a series of dissimulation which there is no defending. It is pity, it must be owned, that so fine a Gentleman in his manner, so easy of access, so affable and communicative in his conversation, so entertaining with his wit, and so polite in his reproof and raillery, should at the same time have no sincerity, nor friendship, nor even tenderness in his nature. He had adopted one maxim, it seems, by which he excused these defects; that there was no such thing as honour or virtue in the world, but that the actions of all mankind were the result of interest. Under the impression of such a maxim, it was impossible he should practise friendship, or sincerity: nor could there be any great room for tenderness, more than what he was impelled to by his natural temper. It was not however till the very latter end of his reign, when his ease had been much disturbed by plots, and the heat of contending parties, that CHARLES the Second exercised any cruelty; and his character in that respect seems to have been overcharged. He was so abandoned to sensual pleasures, that he could scarce prevail upon himself, till towards the decline of life, to suspend them even for an hour that he might apply to the affairs of Government: and yet, when he did apply himself, his judgment was so clear, his penetration was so lively, and his mind was so capable of great affairs, that he could dispatch more business in one day than his Ministers in general could in many. His mistresses devoured all his time, and his treasure; and it was not the splendour or glory of a Crown, but an easy indolent sauntering life, amidst wit and voluptuousness, which had charms for

CHARLES,

CHARLES. This is a wretched, despicable course of life for a King to follow, it must be owned : but it is made much worse when we consider, that it betrayed him into profuseness which was extremely burdensome to his people; and when he could not get money enough from his parliament to support this profuseness, that he even submitted, with the Crown of England upon his head, to be the tool and pensioner of the King of France. But yet with a character so disadvantageous to his subjects, and so inglorious to himself, it must be acknowledged that he made as many concessions to his people, and passed as many acts for their benefit, as any Prince that had ever reigned before him. His great concern at last was for the succession of his brother; which yet he would have consented should be greatly limited : and in his last sickness, when he had time to think over the misconduct of his life and reign, he shewed no remorse for either : not a word about religion dropped from him to any body : no care of his people, no concern about his Queen, sat upon his thoughts at all ; but he died recommending his mistresses, and the children which they brought him, to the care and kindness of his brother. To conclude his character, we may say, that as a Gentleman he was liked by every body but beloved by nobody : and as a Prince, though he might be respected for his station, yet his death could not be lamented by a lover of his country, upon any other motive, than that it produced a much worse Monarch on the throne than he was himself.

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